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JUNE 11, 2007 VOL. LIX, NO. 10

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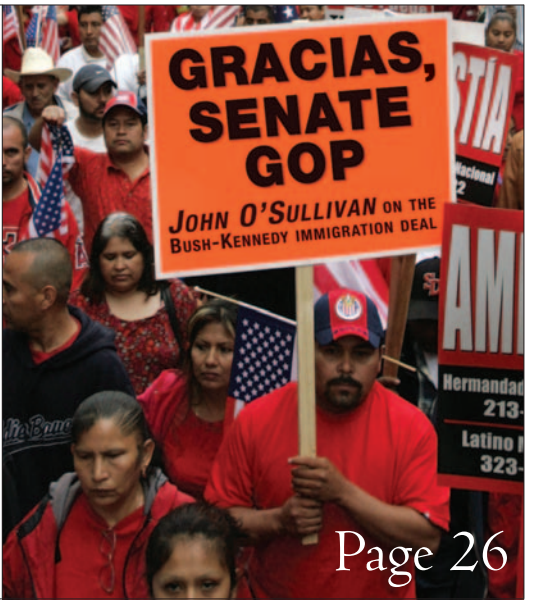
■ COVER STORY

Comprehensively Awful

The immigration-reform bill is a large, costly, and damaging assault on the American taxpayer and the U.S. political system. It grants illegal aliens the right to live and work in America without any penalty for past transgressions, making it an amnesty. But the whole package amounts to Amnesty Plus—an immigration and tax amnesty in one, with citizenship thrown in. *By John O'Sullivan*



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letters to the editor

THE FEDERAL TROUGH

Ramesh Ponnuru's article ("Against the Porkbusters," May 28) abandons the principles of small government that this country was founded on in favor of a utilitarian argument that measures success by percentages.

The Constitution does not give Congress a blank check to spend tax dollars on anything it wants in whatever way it wants. Spending $223 million on the "Bridge to Nowhere" or $500,000 on the Sparta Teapot Museum is not an appropriate exercise of Congress's power of the purse. Nor would the Founding Fathers have approved of legislators' using federal tax dollars to reward special interests that donate to their reelection campaigns.

In 1822, President James Monroe argued that federal money should be limited "to great national works only, since if it were unlimited it would be liable to abuse and might be productive of evil."

The expenditure of taxpayer money on pork is wrong, no matter how high or low the cost. To use an analogy close to Mr. Ponnuru's heart, it is akin to the pro-life movement's going after partial-birth abortion even though it affects only a small fraction of abortions.

Earmarking has become a feeding frenzy that is devoid of oversight, discipline, and accountability. Pork-barrel spending creates a few winners (incumbents, special interests, and lobbyists) and a great many losers (taxpayers). It contributes to the deficit both directly and indirectly and distracts from more important matters. The congressional tug-of-war over agencies' budgets dilutes the effectiveness of federal programs, increases spending, and impedes progress toward national policy goals. For these reasons and more, we are proud to be called "porkbusters."

Thomas A. Schatz
President
Citizens Against Government Waste
Washington, D.C.

RAMESH PONNURU RESPONDS: Most of the time, as I pointed out, congressional earmarking does not increase total federal spending. It merely transfers decision-making authority over how some money is spent from the executive branch to Congress. I also offered reasons to be skeptical that pork increases spending even "indirectly." In response, Mr. Schatz offers only bare assertion.

His constitutional point is thus irrelevant. If it is unconstitutional for the Congress to spend money on a museum, as Schatz suggests, why would it be constitutional for the executive branch to spend it thus?

Finally, the analogy to partial-birth abortion does not work. The campaign against partial-birth abortion assisted the broader campaign against abortion both by generating a courtroom victory and by moving public opinion toward pro-lifers generally. The campaign against pork spending shows no sign of similarly assisting conservatives in making the case against domestic spending generally.

LIKE A BREAD SANDWICH

I enjoyed the cover of the May 28 NATIONAL REVIEW. I did, however, notice a glaring error—your Proud Defeatocrat is feasting on a slice of pepperoni pizza. C'mon, guys—know your enemy! It should have been vegetarian (or vegan, though I don't even know what vegan pizza looks like!).

Anne Goncharov
Burlington, Mass.

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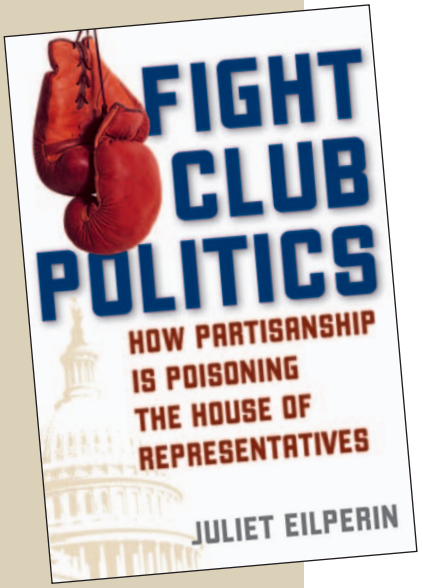

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THE WEEK

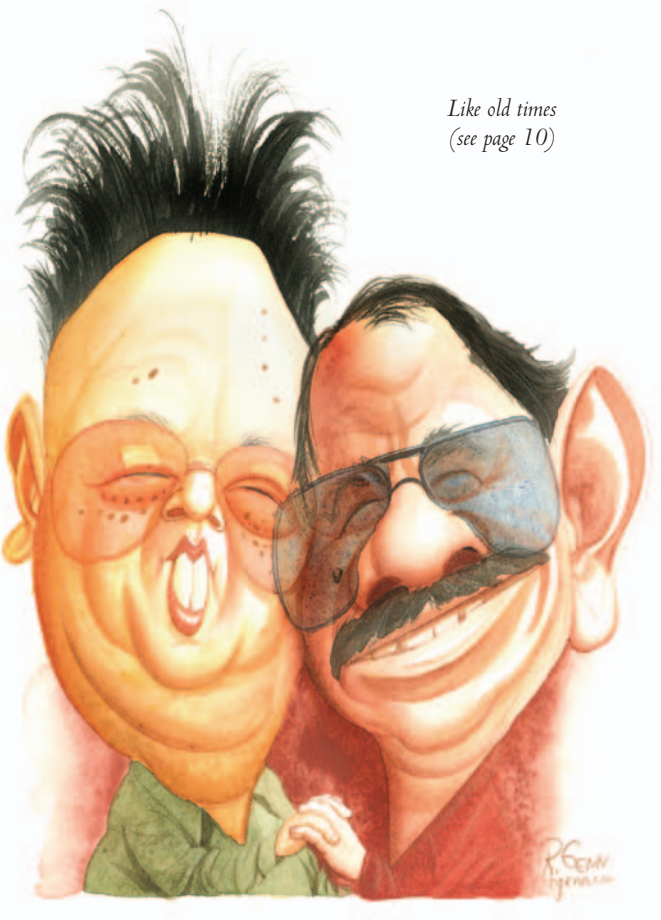
■ Add "enforcing border security" to the list of jobs Americans won't do.

■ Possibly next on the list: voting for John McCain.

■ The Democrats are still hard at work trying to lose the Iraq War. The House passed a supplemental that would have split war funding into two parts, with the second chunk contingent on a vote in July. So al-Qaeda would have had an incentive to step up its attacks before the next vote, and money for important repairs and procurement would have been delayed. The two-part approach was, fortunately, dead on arrival in the Senate; but Democrats there, unfortunately, are insisting that funding come with benchmarks for Iraqi political progress and consequences if these benchmarks are not met. We think the White House should be willing to live with benchmarks whose consequences the president can waive at his discretion—an idea that Bush has rejected, according to reports. But blame for the impasse must go predominately to the Democrats, whose mainstream cares not the least whether we win or lose in Iraq, or whether a sectarian bloodbath ensues upon our departure. Too harsh an assessment? Judge for yourself: A separate bill in the House that would have required immediate withdrawal was defeated—but won support from 169 Democrats, including Speaker Pelosi.

■ Even the *Washington Post* says that the Bush administration got suckered. It reached a deal with top congressional Democrats to require that trade agreements include strict regulations on environmental and labor issues. In return, the Democrats are supposed to approve free-trade pacts with Panama and Peru—two countries that, together, do only $10 billion of annual trade with the U.S. The administration got no concessions on any bigger-ticket items, and the concessions it made will reduce the willingness of our trading partners to make deals with us (since they don't want onerous new regulations). Four months into a Democratic Congress, the administration is already taking scraps from the table.

■ The Catholic Church teaches that legislators who deny the protection of the law to the unborn are committing a grave sin. It further teaches that Catholics who obstinately persist in grave sins break the unity of the Church and should not present themselves for communion. Pope Benedict XVI drew the logical conclusion: that Catholic politicians who vote for abortion should not receive communion. Eighteen Catholic Democrats in the House issued a letter charging the pope with, among other things, violating their religious freedom. They added, "Advancing respect for life and for the dignity of every human being is, as our church has taught us, our own life's mission." Once you have managed to convince yourself that abortion advances respect for life, and that religious leaders who set conditions for the rites of their church are violating religious freedom, we suppose you can persuade yourself that you know Catholic doctrine better than the pope.



Like old times
(see page 10)

ROMAN GENN

■ "War czar" is too exalted a title for Lt. Gen. Douglas Lute, the Bush administration's new "assistant to the president and deputy national security adviser for Iraq and Afghanistan." Lute will not assume overall command of military operations. What he will do—or, at least, try to do—is "manage the interagency policy-development process." That's a nice way of saying "bang heads together so that the various arms of the executive cooperate on Iraq." Lute is, by most accounts, an able and intelligent man: But the main point about him is that he should be unnecessary. It is the national security adviser who has traditionally kept an administration's cabinet chiefs reading from the same foreign-policy page. Bush's first national security adviser, Condoleezza Rice, failed to harmonize the ideas of Colin Powell's State Department with

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THE WEEK...

Donald Rumsfeld's Defense Department, with dire consequences for the occupation of Iraq. Bush's second and current national security adviser, Stephen Hadley, may be even less effective than Rice. We wish Lute luck, and acknowledge with sadness that he will need it.

■ Democrats continue to demand habeas corpus rights for jihadists—or, rather, *additional* habeas corpus rights. The idea that Guantanamo Bay is a "legal black hole" from which detainees cannot challenge their detention is a fiction, no matter how often the *New York Times* reports it as fact. Each detainee is entitled to a review tribunal in order to verify his status as an enemy combatant. In addition, any detainee who is charged with a war crime is entitled to a military-commission trial. The detainees are then permitted to appeal the results of these tribunals and trials through the higher military courts. Finally, when all avenues of military appeals are exhausted, they have an extraordinary right—unprecedented in the history of U.S. warfare—to challenge the military proceedings in the civilian court system. There is a powerful legal case that the constitutional right of habeas corpus does not apply at all to unlawful enemy combatants, and that any statutory protections we grant them are purely discretionary. Wouldn't Congress's time be better spent

Hot Coals

For those interested in increasing carbon taxes, a perfect storm has gathered. That storm combines three smaller storms. First, you have those concerned about global warming, who have been worked into a political frenzy by Al Gore and his friends in Hollywood. Second, you have neoconservatives who feel that U.S. consumption of Middle Eastern oil provides key financial support to our enemies. Finally, you have supply-siders, who are keen on raising energy taxes if other taxes can be lowered at the same time.

This third group draws support from a voluminous economic literature on the "double dividend." If you impose a tax on something you do not want to consume—say, oil—then the tax reduces consumption of the targeted item, providing a "dividend." Government can then use the revenues, in theory at least, to reduce other taxes. The economic boost from this step provides the second dividend. If a country starts with a tax system that is bad enough, the benefit from step two can be so great that the economy is better off after the swap.

Our taxes on corporate income are so high, compared with those in other countries, that it seems likely that a tax swap could increase economic activity if an energy tax were used to reduce corporate income taxes. If the greens want a carbon tax to address global warming, an alliance of the three groups would be natural, and formidable.

So a carbon tax seems more possible than ever. If one considers the geographic incidence of such a tax, however, the political feasibility of higher carbon taxes seems much more questionable.

What would a carbon tax do? In a new paper, Steven Hayward and Kenneth Green, my colleagues at the American Enterprise Institute, explored the question in detail. A key finding in the literature is that carbon taxes disproportionately affect one energy source: coal. Hayward and Green found, for example, that the price of coal would increase 83 percent if a $15-per-ton carbon tax (a commonly discussed level) were enacted. The price of oil, however, would increase only about 11 percent; the price of natural gas would jump just 9 percent. So the biggest impact of a carbon tax would be to induce coal consumers to try other forms of fossil-fuel energy. The carbon tax is mostly a coal tax.

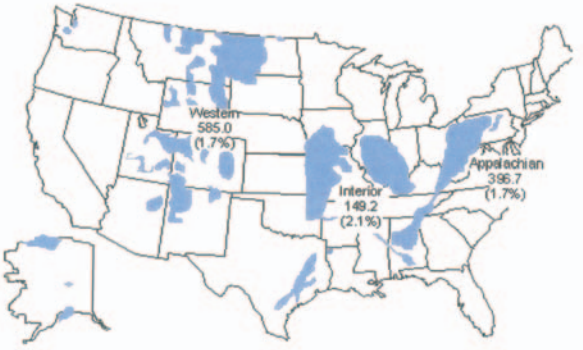
That might be good news for sheiks, but it would be a death blow to America's coal industry, at least until some cost-effective method is developed to recapture carbon emissions from coal combustion. The accompanying chart from the Energy Information Administration's latest annual coal report, which plots the geographic distribution of U.S. coal production, puts that death blow in perspective. The chart indicates an unappreciated truth about coal production: While it is limited to a few contiguous regions of the country, these spread across many states. In 2005, 15 states, from Alabama to Utah, produced at least 20 million metric tons of coal. To make matters worse for carbon taxers, the biggest coal states are swing states such as Ohio, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky.

As the presidential election approaches, many of the candidates seem poised to advocate policies that reduce U.S. carbon emissions. It will be interesting to see how specific they get, given that a healthy share of carbon reductions will come from reduced coal consumption. That connection makes carbon taxes politically improbable.

—KEVIN A. HASSETT

Coal Production by Coal-Producing Region, 2005

Million Short Tons and Percent Change from 2004; U.S. Total: 1,131.5 Million Short Tons (1.7%)



SOURCE: ENERGY INFORMATION ADMINISTRATION, ANNUAL COAL REPORT, 2005, DOE/EIA-0584(2005) (WASHINGTON, D.C., OCTOBER 2006).
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THE WEEK...

making sure our troops have the resources they need for battle than giving our enemies additional bites at the judicial apple?

■ Jimmy Carter said that "as far as the adverse impact on the nation around the world, this administration has been the worst in history." He was disturbed by Bush's "overt reversal of America's basic values." Bush's support for preemption, the former president also said, amounted to a "radical departure from all previous administration policies." (Later, Carter said his comments were "careless or misinterpreted," and that he meant only to say that Bush's foreign policy was worse than Nixon's had been.) He also heaped scorn on Tony Blair for allying with America in Iraq: "loyal, blind, apparently subservient." There is here no tragedy, which requires a fall from a height.

■ To quit or not to quit Iraq, that is the question—and it will face Gordon Brown at the end of June when he succeeds Tony Blair as British prime minister. For the first time in a decade, the Labour party is regularly behind in the polls, and might lose the general election due in 2010. There are a thousand reasons for this unpopularity, but in the party's view Blair's decision to send troops to Iraq counts above everything else. "Troops Out!" has been a favorite slogan of the Left in pretty well all times and places. The British commentariat agree that this is the obvious way for Brown to distance himself from Blair and seem a new man, in the process gratifyingly poking the Americans in the eye. Still, nobody knows what the canny Brown really thinks about the war or foreign policy in general. British troops are anyhow due to be cut in the near term from 7,100 to 5,500. Any change in these numbers will provide at last the measure of Brown.

■ Why did Paul Wolfowitz resign from the World Bank? If you think it had anything to do with a pay raise for his girlfriend, Shaha Riza, you've been led astray by the astonishingly slanted mainstream-media coverage. Riza's deal was always a red herring, and Wolfowitz justifiably demanded that, in exchange for his resignation, the Bank's board acknowledge that he had done nothing wrong. The board took the deal and admitted that Wolfowitz had "acted ethically and in good faith in what he believed were the best interests of the institution." Wolfowitz's moves to cut off corrupt governments from development aid angered the Bank's bureaucrats, who are primarily concerned with moving money out the door. That, along with his association with the Iraq War, is the real reason the Bank rejected him. The United States contributes more money than any other country to the World Bank, but Wolfowitz's ouster shows that Bank officials are more interested in U.S. dollars than in U.S. leadership. Is America's relationship with the Bank worth continuing?

■ It has been a mere four months since former Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega became president, for the second time, of Nicaragua. Already he has pursued a policy of revanche, and gone about wronging old rights. Especially deplorable is his embrace of North Korea, the Cold War pal with which Nicaragua has just reestablished diplomatic ties. It now joins Venezuela and Cuba among Latin American countries whose thuggish leaders have given a warm embrace to Kim Jong Il—and a cold shoulder to friends of freedom and security everywhere.

■ Life in Venezuela is going from bad to worse. Having recently seized the last of his country's private oil fields, Hugo Chávez is now moving in force against Venezuela's farmers. They have long had to contend with squatters who assemble on their land and burn their crops as an intimidation tactic. Now they must also cope with the army commando units Chávez is sending in to help the squatters build socialist cooperatives on the land they do not own. In other news, Chávez has announced that he will not renew the license of a TV station that opposes his government. One blow against property rights; another against free speech. Thus is democracy felled.

■ The Baath party of Syria nominated President Bashar Assad for a second seven-year term in office. Syrians will go to the polls on May 27. As we go to press, Assad is unopposed. Will he top the 97 percent of the vote that he won in his first race seven years ago? *U.S. News & World Report* analyst Michael Barone notes that Syrians historically like dynasties (Assad's father Hafez held the post before him), and Rasmussen and Gallup both show him running strong. But columnist Dick Morris, who has been for, against, and for Assad, before coming out against, predicts a weak showing, in the low 90s. Note: Syrian law forbids electioneering within 200 feet of a polling place, or within the three-mile limit, whichever is larger.

THE FT. DIX AFFAIR

Kindly note some entered at
Brownsville. No one hollered "Scat!"
Nor was there a fence back then,
Some have Kosovo kinsmen
(Are you still there, Harry Reid?);
All were subsequently treed.
Blindfolded or not, all should—
I'm old-fashioned—get it, good.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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NR528

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THE WEEK...

■ Taliban enforcers in northwestern Pakistan seized cassette players from cars and blew up stores that sold music, saying that such sensuous delights were against sharia law. (Also against the law: videos, beardless men, uncovered women, and Christians.) What is it with the totalitarian mind and music? Lenin famously refused to enjoy Beethoven, lest it sap his revolutionary élan. "The motions of his spirit are dull as night, / And his affections dark as Erebus" was how Shakespeare described the unmusical man. The great counterexample, of course, is the Nazis and their love of Wagner (talk about Department of Unsolicited Testimonials). But they sure didn't like Mendelssohn, or jazz. In the earthly paradise, will jihadists also have to shoot songbirds?

■ Haleh Esfandiari, 67, is director of the Middle East Program at the Smithsonian Institution's Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. She holds both American and Iranian citizenship. Late last year, she went to Iran to visit her 93-year-old mother. As she was on her way to the airport to return to Washington, "her taxi was stopped by three men with knives who threatened to kill her. They took her belongings, including her Iranian and U.S. passports." (We are quoting a *Washington Post* report.) Then, the Iranian authorities interrogated her continually for six weeks, though allowing her to return to her mother's at night. In mid-May, however, they threw her into Evin, one of their most notorious prisons. Naturally, they accuse her of being a spy—of both the Great Satan and the Little Satan, of both the CIA and the Mossad. Iran's behavior is perfectly consonant with that of a totalitarian state. But some need reminding of the nature of the mullahs' regime. In 2003, Richard Armitage, then the U.S. deputy secretary of state, declared that Iran is a democracy. If it is a democracy, then we are *Mother Jones*.

■ The appointment of Bernard Kouchner as foreign minister of France calls for superlatives like "exceptional, incredible, original." Nearing 70 now, Kouchner has led a full and rewarding life. A gastroenterologist by training, he was the moving spirit that set up Doctors without Borders, truly a life-saving organization. He has been a minister of health, and the U.N. civil administrator in Kosovo. He likes to say that he is on the side of the oppressed, and one reason for that is the fact that his grandparents were murdered in Auschwitz. For a long time Saddam Hussein was a particular *bête noire* of his, and Kouchner condemned France for arming and trading with such a killer. Siding with Bush against Chirac, he was almost alone in the French elite in backing American intervention in Iraq, and gloried in emphasizing that he was right. A Socialist, he campaigned for Ségolène Royal in the recent presidential elections, and said harsh things about Nicolas Sarkozy. Sarkozy surprised everyone by picking him, but the Socialists surprised nobody by straightaway throwing him out of the party. More superlatives may soon be in order.

■ A minion of Zimbabwe's regime will chair the U.N. Commission on Sustainable Development. This is hardly shocking, but we are reminded of the U.N.'s brazenness. Is there any country less suited than Zimbabwe to champion the cause of "sustainable development"? In the past two years, hundreds of thousands of people there have been rendered homeless in a campaign of destruction designed by the government to intimidate likely opposition voters, and inflation has risen to 3,700 percent. In happier news, former Backstreet Boy Nick Carter can now claim an affiliation with the U.N.—as the body's "special ambassador for the Year of the Dolphin." He explained, "From a very young age [I] enjoyed the ocean and all its wonderful creatures. It saddens me deeply to learn that something that gives me such pleasure is in danger." By turns disgusting and absurd, the U.N. prefers, in all cases, inclusion to discernment.

■ Democrats recently announced that they were backing out of a Fox News–sponsored debate in Nevada. The reason? Fox's supposed conservative bias. The charge against the network was led by the so-called "netroots," the party's angry Internet base. They apparently prefer the Keith Olbermann–anchored, Chris Matthews–moderated debates held by MSNBC. But a comparison between the recent Republican debates on the two channels shows a world of difference. Fox's questions were serious and revealing, and the moderators were willing to press candidates who attempted to dodge questions. MSNBC, on the other hand, tried to turn the debate into a game show, with dumb tactics and risible queries. The Democrats' refusal to participate in a debate on the highest-rated cable news network is a pander to the most obnoxious segment of their base, nothing more. Certainly in this instance, the only bias we see on Fox's part is toward professionalism.

■ The University of Michigan has bestowed on Bill Clinton an honorary doctor-of-laws degree. Remember that Clinton's Arkansas law license was suspended, and that he was prohibited from appearing before the U.S. Supreme Court. But the ex-prez will always be able to count on his friends in higher education.

■ There are countless things wrong and disgusting about our higher education, and one of them is that many universities bar the ROTC from their campuses. President Bush addressed this the other day: "It should not be hard for our great schools of learning to find room to honor the service of men and women who are standing up to defend the freedoms that make the work of our universities possible." That is simply perfect. But Bush is incapable of shaming these people, and they are incapable of being shamed.

■ The Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia are reuniting after a schism of 80

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years. While the parent trunk of Orthodoxy made its peace with the Soviet Union, the Church Outside of Russia, headquartered in New York, served monarchist exiles. The rift was closed in a service at Butovo, a suburb of Moscow, where 20,000 believers were shot and killed by the NKVD in 1937–8. "This was a place of much sorrow, temptation, suffering, and the death of martyrs," said Fr. Serafim Gan, a priest of the breakaway church. "Now this place serves revival." It is a pity that the revival takes place with the encouragement of nationalist strongman Vladimir Putin: Orthodoxy seems to keep its historic tropism toward despots. Yet the despots go as they have come, while the Church remains. May it be blessed by those whose blood it honors.

■ Like it or not, former vice president Al Gore has become an elder statesman of the Left, elevated mostly by his regular displays of environmentalist piety, including his one-sided documentary about global warming, *An Inconvenient Truth*. And he has certainly invaded the schools. Canada's *National Post* recently reported that one high-school student was forced to watch the documentary *four times* in one year, with little in the way of rebuttal or debate. The student reported that the film was even shown in his economics class. (They don't call it "the dismal science" for nothing.) We extend our sympathies to anyone unfortunate enough to have to listen to Gore's sanctimonious droning for hours on end, and lament that modern education has bought into his brand of environmental hysteria. Surely there are more edifying ways for students to be spending their time. Lunch?

■ Michael Moore, slimmed down and looking fit as a Funyun, has premiered his newest piece of agitprop to adoring audiences at Cannes. *Sicko*, his documentary about the evils of American health care, involves a stunt that has made his movie famous, and infamous, well before its wide release. He accompanied a group of ill Ground Zero workers to Cuba to receive the health care they've gone wanting in America. It's a win-win situation: Our 9/11 heroes get treatment in a country where Pepto-Bismol is a black-market product, and Moore gets some needed publicity. There's nothing quite like taking health advice from the fat man from Flint, except perhaps taking your cues on health care and good governance from one of the world's worst dictatorships.

■ You may have noticed, on forms or posters, the "T" added to "LGB" (lesbian, gay, bisexual). "T" means transgendered: men in women's bodies, or vice versa, before or after corrective operations. "T" is often followed by "Q," questioning: still not sure. The interest in the mutability of gender is in part a reaction to the organ obsessions of popular culture that run from Hugh Hefner through Robert Mapplethorpe and *The Vagina Monologues*. Sexual identity is a reservoir of roles and functions, so much deeper than body parts. "Virtue" and "virtu" come from the Latin *vir*, man; the ladies, meanwhile, can claim Mother Nature; Shakespeare is full of cross-dressing heroines; one could go on and on. How sad then that the current vogue for gender bending should draw, not on the accumulated insights of poetry, but on interest-group lingo, academic theory, and doctors interested in marketing medical procedures.

■ "When our two souls stand up erect and strong, / Face to face, silent, drawing nigh and nigher, / Until the lengthening wings break into fire / At either curved point, what bitter wrong / Can the earth do to us, that we should not long / Be here contented?" She spent seven years in jail, for shooting his wife in the face. He spent four months in jail himself, for statutory rape. She married and is divorcing. He divorced, remarried, and is divorcing again. But passion and the prospect of a reality show have brought Amy Fisher and Joey Buttafuoco back together, for a romantic dinner on Long Island. The two, who were 16 and 35 when they first loved in 1991, are now . . . well, do the math. Potential problem: His most recent ex, a Yugoslavian repo woman, still wants him. But that is a trifle. "Let us stay / Rather on earth, beloved,—where the unfit / Contrarious moods of men recoil away / And isolate pure spirits, and permit / A place to stand and love in for a day, / With darkness and the death-hour rounding it."

■ It was a Saturday during the quietude of "reading period," the weeks that immediately precede Harvard's exam period, when at the Radcliffe Quadrangle a group of 60 people showed up, removed barriers protecting sod newly laid in preparation for commencement festivities, and began, air horns blaring, a raucous celebration that lasted the afternoon. Responding to a complaint, Harvard police officers eventually came along, asked to see IDs, and quickly learned that all present were Harvard students and that the festivity was administration-approved. The police left the students to their merriment, with the suggestion that they "keep the noise down." Unluckily, it was a joint gathering of the Association of Black Harvard Women and the Black Men's Forum. And so began the campus's latest indignation intermezzo: Based on nothing beyond supposition, the incident generated the "I am Harvard" campaign, culminating in a rally where students were encouraged to shed their clothes and so challenge "the conception of what a Harvard student should look like." The same students are threatening to demonstrate at commencement itself. Declaring himself "100 percent behind the students' efforts," Dr. Allen Counter, director of the Harvard Foundation for Intercultural and Race Relations, declared, "This is an important step to take in what is clearly a racist community, in which police are allowed to use South African apartheid techniques to harass our students." Routine police work does not "a racist community" make, much less apartheid South Africa—only in minds that have been race-ruined.

■ The *Washington Times* celebrated its 25th birthday with a gala at the National Building Museum. The *Times* has been a lifejacket for Beltway conservatives, and an employer for Beltway conservative journalists, since the early Reagan years. But its effect has been greater. If the *Washington Post* is now a

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better newspaper than the *New York Times*, it may be because of a quarter-century of critical competition from a hometown rival that covers the same beat (politics) and targets the same sort of reader (insider/knowledgeable generalist). The *Times* also shamed the *Post* into covering local D.C. news—no small matter in a city that aspires to statehood. The Rev. Sun Myung Moon's patronage of the *Times* has always been problematic, yet he has given it freer rein than many a press lord. *Floreat*.

■ In 1979 the conservative political operative Paul Weyrich used the phrase "moral majority" in a conversation with a Southern Baptist minister in Lynchburg, Va. The Rev. Jerry Falwell liked the phrase, and decided to mobilize (vociferously) the majority. He had already built a megachurch and a media empire of televised sermons; now he aimed to rally Protestants, Catholics, Mormons, and Jews behind conservative social issues and anti-Communism. His target audience was never a majority, but it was a force, and he changed the political landscape by galvanizing it. Like many radio and TV figures, he was better at generating content than editing; his post-9/11 comment that America's sins had brought on the attack might, with tweaking, have been uttered by Susan Sontag. (He quickly recanted.) Still, he forced the secular clerisy to notice millions of their fellow citizens, and he brought passion and pizzazz to his agenda. Through it all, he continued to evangelize. Dead, age 73. R.I.P.

PUBLIC POLICY

Defeat It

WHAT makes "comprehensive immigration reform" comprehensive is that it would not only strengthen enforcement at the border and the workplace. It would also reduce the demand for illegal-immigrant labor by giving employers access to all the legal immigrants they need. It would improve our security, as well: As illegal immigrants registered with the government to become legal, and possibly to become citizens, the government would know who was in this country. And the illegal immigrants would come "out of the shadows" and begin to assimilate into the mainstream of American life.

It is this happy theory that animates the bipartisan immigration bill before the Senate. But the details of the bill draw out three flaws of the theory. The first flaw is that the government's capacity to track millions of people is quite limited; the second flaw is that employers' "need" for cheap labor is practically inexhaustible; and the third flaw is that the theory forgets that workers are people.

The first flaw causes the national-security argument to explode: Immigration bureaucracies that cannot manage current policy are not going to be able to enforce new laws and process 12–20 million illegal immigrants on their path to citizenship.

The second flaw will manifest itself as businesses that rely on unskilled labor exert constant pressure on governments not to enforce the immigration laws. The new bill has tough-sounding enforcement measures, but most of them can be waived if that pressure builds. Just as bad, the illegal immigrants would be legalized whether or not those enforcement measures worked. The result of this bill could thus very well be legal status for millions of currently illegal immigrants, plus millions more illegal immigrants waiting for the next round of "immigration reform."

The third flaw is that it will be impossible to make temporary workers go home once their two years have expired. If they have children while they are here, those children will be treated as citizens from birth. One of the Bushite arguments against enforcing the law today is that it is inhumane "to break up families." It won't become more humane with the passage of this law.

If the government simply stepped up enforcement—above all by putting in place a system that would allow employers to know when they were hiring illegals, and would also make it possible for the government to punish them for doing so—the net inflow of illegal immigrants would decrease and the problem of our illegal population would, over time, shrink to a more manageable level. At that point we could debate whether to legalize the remaining illegals. Without certainty of enforcement, however, legalization merely entices more border crossings.

The Bush administration, wedded to the idea that concern about immigration is backward and possibly racist, has never seriously considered that alternative. It has instead put all its weight behind a plan that will enrage the Republican party's base, split its elected officials, and repel low-income swing voters. The plan will not win Republicans Hispanic votes, either. The Democrats will always be able to raise the bid, for example by making the path to citizenship easier. John McCain, by angrily promoting the bill, seems bent on giving conservatives new reasons to doubt his judgment.

The immigration deal is a mistake as both policy and politics. Amendments can improve it only at the margins. Defeat of the bill may seem unlikely now, but conservatives should work to make it happen.

PUBLIC POLICY II

Back to Tax and Spend

WITHOUT much notice, the Democrats have passed a budget resolution that would allow most of the Bush tax cuts to expire at the end of 2010. Allowing tax rates to snap back to their former levels would constitute the largest tax increase in American history.

The Democrats argue that their budget does not necessarily assume tax increases, although it projects higher spending and budget surpluses that couldn't be accomplished any other way. As Brian Riedl of the Heritage Foundation has noted, the Democrats' budget assumes that revenues will be $721 billion higher than the Congressional Budget Office estimates. That's suspiciously close to the amount of money taxpayers are projected to save if the Bush tax cuts remain in place.

In fact, if one assumes that the Democrats preserve marriage-penalty relief, the child-tax-credit expansion, and the 10 percent income-tax bracket—the cuts they are inclined to keep—then

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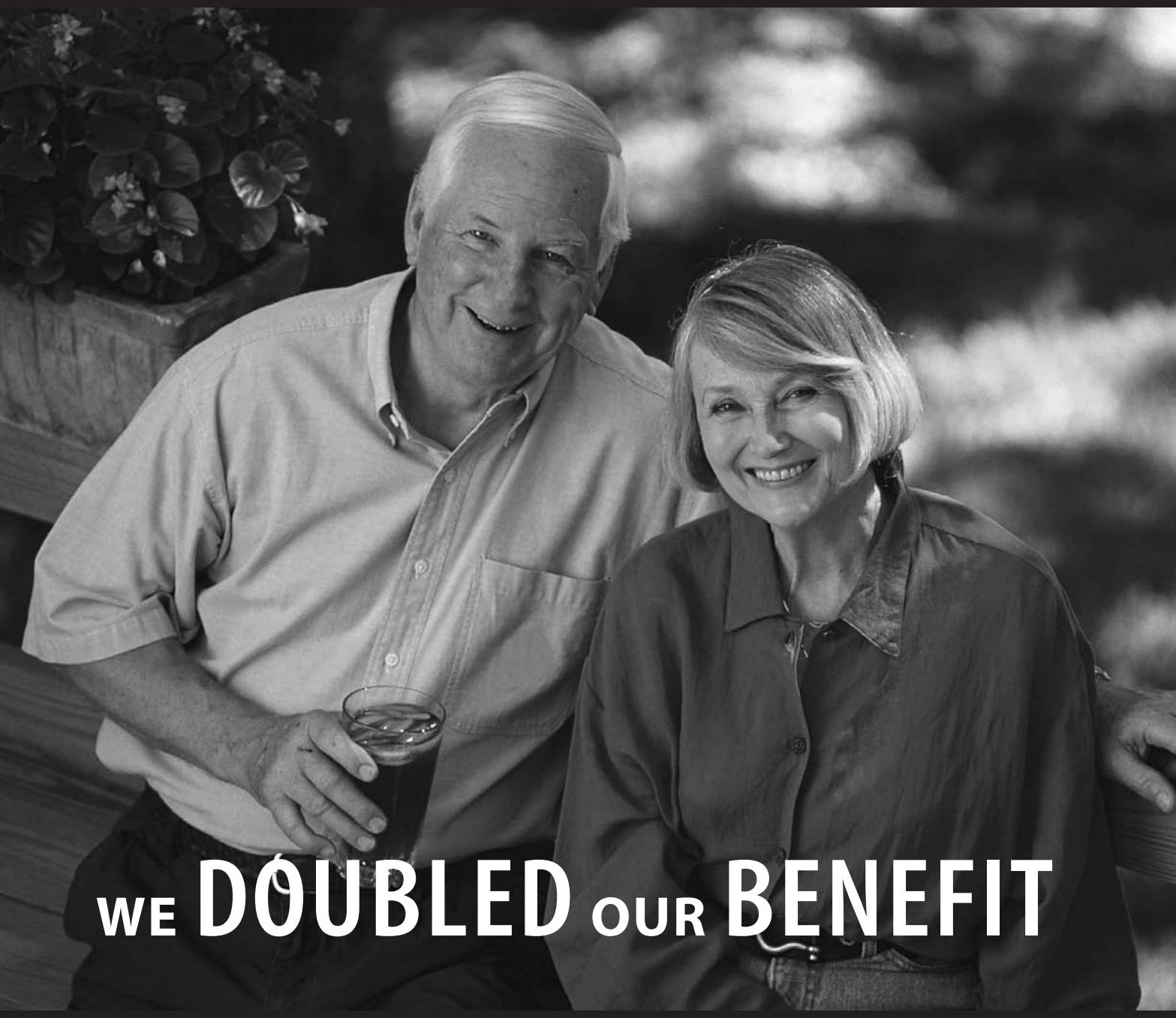

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the difference between the two amounts is erased. What's left is a plan to allow the majority of the Bush tax cuts to expire. That means raising taxes on dividends and capital gains, which have become a significant source of income for seniors. It also means big tax hikes for middle-class families.

When the Democrats say their budget doesn't include "tax increases," they're simply playing with words. When confronted with the plain fact that, under their budget, tax rates will be higher in 2011 than they were the year before, they argue that allowing a tax cut to expire is not the same as raising taxes. This sophistry might shield them from immediate political consequences—most people, after all, aren't paying close attention to a non-binding budget document that projects tax increases four years into the future. But it will be interesting to see how far that explanation gets them once higher tax rates force Americans to start cutting into their own budgets.

The Democrats' budget increases discretionary spending by 9 percent, setting aside more money for hundreds of duplicative and ineffective government programs and allowing for the reauthorization of corporate welfare such as the Advanced Technology Program and massively wasteful farm programs. Through these programs, the federal government directly transfers billions of dollars each year from taxpayers to some of the nation's most successful large companies, including IBM and Archer Daniels Midland.

The Democrats' budget takes the same approach to spending as it does to taxes: Just pretend those massive increases aren't there.

The Democrats' budget is just as notable for what it doesn't include. It does nothing to reduce massive unfunded liabilities in Social Security and Medicare. The Democrats rejected the administration's proposal to save trillions in Medicare outlays by curbing benefits to wealthy seniors, and their budget offers no solution to the dual problems of funding the Social Security shortfall *and* paying back trillions the government has borrowed from the Social Security "trust fund." The Democrats' budget, in other words, takes the same approach to spending as it does to taxes: Just pretend those massive increases aren't there.

It also doesn't provide a permanent solution to the Alternative Minimum Tax problem. The AMT is a shadow tax system intended to limit the amount of income any taxpayer can shield. Under its arcane rules, taxpayers are forced to do their taxes twice, adding back certain deductions, applying a different set of rates, and paying whatever amount is higher. Because Congress failed to index the AMT for inflation, the number of Americans subject to it has skyrocketed in recent years, resulting in higher taxes for millions of families. As in past years, the Democrats' budget includes only a temporary fix.

Fortunately, the worst effects of the budget—the tax increases—won't take effect for four years. The passage of time might find the Republicans' political position improved and the Bush tax cuts made permanent. In the meantime, the best conservatives can hope for is that the Republican minority in Congress will successfully stymie a few of the Democrats' most egregious budget bills, and that President Bush will not lose his recently discovered affinity for vetoing bad legislation.

A few good-government types congratulated the Democrats for passing a budget resolution on time and thus succeeding where Republicans failed in three of the six years of the Bush presidency. We'll give them this much: When it comes to raising taxes and busting the budget, they are models of efficiency.

POLITICS

Act Two

THE second Republican presidential "debate"—it would be better described as a candidates' forum—was dominated by a dust-up between the front-runner and a minor candidate. Congressman Ron Paul, a libertarian, said that Osama bin Laden attacked us on 9/11 because of our previous interventions in the Middle East, and in particular because of our bombing of Iraq. Rudolph Giuliani broke in to say Paul's statement was "extraordinary" and should be withdrawn.

Paul's description of what motivated bin Laden is accurate, though incomplete. But Paul's implied conclusions—that we should not have gone to war with Iraq in 1991, and that a non-interventionist policy is safer for Americans—do not follow. As badly as the second Iraq war has gone, we would be in a much worse geopolitical position if during the 1990s Saddam Hussein had controlled Iraq and Kuwait and held Saudi Arabia in fear. The notion that interventions always, or usually, yield "blowback" would be ideologically convenient for a libertarian such as Paul, but that is no reason to think it is true. American policy should take account of the possibility of retaliation against us, but not be rendered impotent by it.

Giuliani, by smacking Paul down, played to two of his strengths simultaneously: He was tough on terrorists, and he seized control of the stage. The other eight candidates were bystanders. More than the other candidates, Giuliani also directed attention to the liberalism of the Democratic contenders.

John McCain, on the other hand, did merely passably. He stood out from the pack in reiterating his objection to torture. The Bush administration does not dispute that there should be limits on permissible interrogation techniques, and neither do we. But McCain believes that torture never works (except in the ticking-bomb scenario, where he would allow it), and that the more humanely we treat our detainees the better our enemies will treat our soldiers. Neither view is plausible.

The ideological and political weaknesses of the field were very much on display. Tommy Thompson was unable to identify a single government program he would eliminate, while Representative Paul suggested that he would eliminate the welfare state by dinnertime on his first day in office. None of the other candidates has yet staked out an intelligent middle ground.

Nor has any of the candidates adopted a primary strategy that attempts to appeal to independent voters as well as to conservatives. The smart line after each debate was that Fred Thompson had won it by not participating in it. Maybe so, but the Democrats are also doing well.

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■ 2008 ■

Memo to GOP: Get a Grip

Reagan was right for his time, and someone else must be right for our own time

DAVID FRUM

All the stars are lined up for a horrible Republican defeat in 2008.

You know the numbers as well as I. From almost the moment George W. Bush returned to office in 2005, a majority of Americans surveyed have said the country was on the "wrong track." (The latest numbers put "wrong track" at over 70 percent.) A majority of Americans express a favorable view of the Democratic party. A majority of Americans express an unfavorable view of the Republican party. On the question "Which party cares more about people like you?" Democrats currently hold a two-to-one lead over the GOP. Ditto on the question "Which party can be described as the party of change?" Two-thirds of Americans disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing as president.

I could continue, but you get the idea. The Republican party is a very, very threatened organization. And it's important to realize that while Iraq heads the list of Republican troubles, the list extends well beyond Iraq. Standards of living have stagnated under Bush: The median American worker earns no more today than he did in 2001. Health-insurance and energy costs have doubled since 2001.

Corruption gnaws at the image of the GOP. Historically, honesty in government has been a GOP issue: Democrats still pay the price for Tammany Hall. But when asked today which party has more corrupt politicians, Republicans or Democrats, Americans answer "Republicans" by a two-to-one landslide. Likewise, since Jimmy Carter, Republicans have usually been perceived as the more competent party; today, Democrats are seen as better managers by a five-to-three margin.

Democrats go into this election cycle more unified and energized than do the Republicans. In the first quarter of 2007, the three top Democratic candidates for president raised a combined total of $65 million; the three top Republicans, $48 million. The websites of the Democratic presidential candidates attract more traffic than the websites of the Republicans. And then of course comes this deeply demoralizing self-inflicted immigration debacle.

Result: While 60 percent of Democratic primary voters pronounce themselves satisfied with their presidential choices, only 35 percent of Republicans say the same. This unhappiness is the opportunity that is luring Fred Thompson and Newt Gingrich into the race. And that's great: the more the merrier. But there is a risk in this unhappiness. Unhappy parties can succumb to nostalgia for their great leaders of the past. The Democrats lost election after election looking first for the next Franklin Roosevelt, then for the next John F. Kennedy. Republicans in these frustrating days feel the tug of Reagan nostalgia.

We feel: If only we had another Reagan! If only we could find a consistent small-government tax-cutter who is also sincerely and consistently socially conservative! If only we could find a candidate who exudes both strength and good cheer, traditionalism and optimism!

And so we demand from our candidates ever more fervent declarations of fealty to an ideology that interests an ever-dwindling proportion of the public.

It gives me no pleasure to say this, but those hopes are delusions. In every way we can measure, the voting public is moving away from the kind of conservatism we know as Reaganism. Federal income taxes? Americans were furious about them in 1980, and no wonder: Over the previous decade, the tax burden on the ordinary person had doubled. Today, polls show Americans relatively unbothered by income taxes. No surprise: Three decades of tax reform have heaped a majority of the nation's income-tax burden on the top 5 percent of income-earners. In 1996 and 2000, Republican presidential candidates campaigned on big cuts in personal income tax. They lost the popular vote both times.

Big government? President Bush's big-spending No Child Left Behind bill and

ROMAN GENN

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his prescription-drug benefit may have been poor public policy—but there's no doubt, they were very popular. Without the first, he would never have been elected president; without the second, he might well have lost reelection.

The entrepreneurial spirit of the investor class? A number of polls are beginning to detect a rising resentment of economic inequality. At one point in 2006, an NBC poll found that inequality ranked second only to fuel prices among domestic issues.

Hope for tomorrow? Today's 20-somethings favor Democrats over Republicans by a 12-point margin—the most lopsided generational preference in the history of polling.

The conservatism we know evolved in the 1970s to meet a very specific set of dangers and challenges: inflation, slow growth, energy shortages, unemployment, rising welfare dependency. In every one of those problems, big government was the direct and immediate culprit. Roll back government, and you solved the problem.

Government is implicated in many of today's top domestic concerns as well. You can trace health-care inflation in part to perverse tax incentives that squelch competition. You can trace the rise in income inequality in part to the failure to enforce immigration laws. But the connection between big government and today's most pressing problems is not as close or as pressing as it was 27 years ago. So, unsurprisingly, the anti-big-government message does not mobilize the public the way it once did.

Of course, we can keep repeating our old lines all the same, just the way Tip O'Neill kept exhorting the American middle class to show more gratitude to the New Deal. But politicians who talk that way soon sound old, tired, and cranky. I wish somebody at the recent GOP presidential debate at the Reagan Library had said: "Ronald Reagan was a great leader and a great president because he addressed the problems of his time. But we have very different problems—and we need very different answers. Here are mine."

But if one of the candidates had said that, would Republicans have hearkened? Or would we have said: The path to the nomination will be crossed by the candidate who does the best job of ticking the boxes of a coalition that probably now spans no more than 30 percent of the electorate?

Barring some calamitous mistake by the Democrats (and true, that can never be ruled out from the "war is lost" party), the GOP enters the 2008 election cycle at a serious disadvantage. If we want to win, we have to offer the American voter something fresh and compelling—answers to the problems that bear on Americans today, not the problems that bore on their parents when disco ruled.

Today, Americans do not worry about their society as they did in 1979. They worry about the competence and effectiveness of their government.

Ronald Reagan was elected at a time when every social indicator seemed to be moving in the wrong direction: crime up, abortion up, divorce up, welfare dependency up, test scores down. Since the mid-1990s, America has been riding a wave of good social news. Crime is down, so is abortion, so is divorce, and so is welfare dependency.

Ronald Reagan's optimism refreshed the country because so many Americans had lost hope in their society. Today, Americans do not worry about their society as they did in 1979. They worry about the competence and effectiveness of their government. In 1979, the issue was "Why are Americans so pessimistic about the future?" Today they wonder: "Why can't the American government win wars and defend the border?"

This year, we are going to find that taxes matter less than health care. Crime matters less than energy prices. Immigration matters more than same-sex marriage. Competence matters more than charisma. It will be a very different environment from the environment in which Republicans prospered in the 1980s. Can we adapt? My friend Michael Ledeen often quotes a line of Machiavelli's: "For this is the tragedy of man—circumstances change, but he does not." Let us act this year to ensure that this observation does not also describe the tragedy of the Republican party in the next. **NR**

■ POLITICS

Messin' with Ballots

No matter what Democrats now say, voter fraud is real

BYRON YORK

On April 15, a *New York Times* editorial declared that concerns about voter fraud—concerns that lay behind the Bush administration's firings of some U.S. attorneys—are a "fantasy." The Justice Department has investigated fraud allegations for five years, the *Times* wrote, and "has not turned up any evidence that voter fraud is actually a problem." The Bush White House was not only wrong to be worried about some prosecutors' less-than-enthusiastic pursuit of fraud allegations, the paper concluded, it was wrong to be worried at all about such a non-issue.

It was an extraordinary position for the *Times*, given that, two years earlier, the paper commended a group of Ohio lawyers who went to court alleging that the Bush campaign had engaged in massive voter fraud in the 2004 presidential election. The lawyers accused the Bush team of engaging in a variety of illegal acts, including a scheme in which top political strategist Karl Rove was said to have personally hacked into Ohio's electronic voting system, erasing thousands of Democratic votes. The lawyers had no evidence to support their allegations—the *Times* conceded that—but the paper said they had performed a "public service" by making the charges, because they had raised "concerns that many voters shared."

The *Times*'s change of heart is by no means unique on the left. A few days before the 2004 election, Markos Moulitsas, the influential Democratic blogger/activist, warned about a "nationwide" wave of voter fraud. The day after the election, another influential Democratic blogger/activist, Josh Marshall, advised John Kerry not to concede, because "this whole contest has been too dirty, too

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marred with voter suppression, dirty tricks and other unspeakable antics not to press every last possibility [of challenging the results]." Lately, however, both Moulitsas and Marshall have railed repeatedly about the "bogus" issue of voter fraud.

What's going on? After all its worries about Ohio in 2004—and before that, Florida in 2000—why has the Left decided that voter fraud simply doesn't exist? The short answer is: It's useful. In 2000 and 2004, charging voter fraud was a useful way to question the legitimacy of George W. Bush's presidency. Now, in 2007, denying the existence of voter fraud is a useful way to question the legitimacy of George W. Bush's presidency. If the other guys are accused of doing it, they say, it's a scandal; if we're accused of doing it, it's a fantasy.

The only problem is, voter fraud is a problem. It was a problem when Democrats were touting it, and it's a problem now when Democrats are denying it, and it will remain a problem in the future. Three examples from recent years are enough to prove that concerns about voter fraud are not a fantasy, but a distinct reality.

• *St. Louis, 2000–2001*. It would be an understatement to call conditions at the polls in St. Louis chaotic during the 2000 presidential election. With voters' rolls a shambles, would-be voters crowded polling places, so much so that Democrats convinced a judge to order the polls to stay open three hours after the specified closing time. Republicans dashed to court and got another judge to order them closed after only 45 minutes' additional voting. The extension alone was not evidence of fraud, but a few months later, as the city was gearing up for a mayoral election, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* found that one in ten voters registered in St. Louis were also registered somewhere else. All those registrations made for some eye-popping totals. "The number of registered voters threatens to outnumber the voting age population," wrote Sen. Christopher Bond (R., Mo.) in a *Washington Post* op-ed. "A total of 247,135 St. Louis residents, dead or alive, are registered to vote compared with the city's voting-age population of 258,532. That translates to a whopping 96 percent registration rate, the envy of even Pyongyang."

Then there were the 3,000 voter-registration cards submitted by Democratic groups on the last day voters could register for the mayoral primary. A number of them turned out to be for dead people. One registered voter was a dog named Ritzy. Mayor Clarence Harmon—a Democrat—told the Associated Press that voter fraud is "widespread and insidious in the body politic." "This is a little river town that's got a very bad history of very bad election fraud," Harmon said. "If we don't straighten out this fundamental issue, what's going to happen to us?"

After all its worries about Ohio in 2004—and before that, Florida in 2000—why has the Left decided that voter fraud simply doesn't exist? The short answer is: It's useful.

After the election, Bond produced a thick dossier of irregularities entitled "St. Louis Election Fraud: A Primer." He blamed many of the problems on the Clinton-era "motor voter" law, which loosened requirements for voter registration. But his proposals for reform faced determined opposition from Democratic officials led by Missouri representative William Lacy Clay. In the end, a compromise was reached, with better voting machines and registration standards. But in St. Louis, the next voting scandal is only an election away.

• *South Dakota, 2002*. The race between Democratic senator Tim Johnson and Republican challenger John Thune was always close, even before we learned that Johnson defeated Thune by just 524 votes. Then we learned that people were allowed to vote without identification; that out-of-state attorneys brought in by the Democratic party coached voters at the polls; and that those lawyers, in effect, engaged in illegal electioneering by setting up get-out-the-vote offices at the polls. Then there was the woman whom the state Democratic party paid $2 for each new voter she signed up on the state's Indian reservations. She made almost $13,000, much of it from suspicious signatures. She was charged with forgery, but the case fell apart when a state expert witness suggested that all the people who said their names had been signed—not one of them, not two of them, but all of them—were lying. Baffled state officials dropped the case, and it all ended in a murky mess.

• *Washington State, 2004*. The governor's race between Democrat Christine Gregoire and Republican Dino Rossi was among the closest ever: Gregoire won by 129 votes out of 2.8 million cast. Various early counts showed Rossi winning by 261 votes, and then by 42 votes, and then, finally, the balance tipping slightly to Gregoire. A race that tight, and that important, was going to receive a lot of scrutiny, and subsequent investigations revealed lots of problems.

For example, in King County alone, officials found 1,800 more votes than people who had signed in at polling stations. They also found hundreds of provisional votes that were counted as regular votes. They also found dozens of examples of that old favorite, dead voters. After the controversy, state officials did a first-ever examination of the voting rolls and in 2006 announced that they had deleted 55,000 registrations.

That figure included 19,579 names of people who were dead and 35,445 otherwise illegal registrations. A little later, state officials purged another 848 names from the voting rolls—all were felons found to be illegally on lists of eligible voters.

St. Louis, South Dakota, and Washington State. If you want more examples, you can add the phony names that were registered to vote in Ohio, the dead who voted in Milwaukee, and a long list of election tricks in Louisiana. Not all those cases resulted in criminal prosecutions. And not all the prosecutions resulted in guilty verdicts or pleas. But each case was serious enough to warrant investigation. And each revealed significant problems in the voting systems of various states. And, of course, fraud does not have to be terribly widespread to affect elections that are decided by 524 or 129 votes.

In other words, voter fraud is a real concern. It is difficult to pursue, and difficult to prove. But it's not a fantasy. Ritzy the dog could tell you that. **NR**

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■ THE NATION

Jamestown in The American Eye

A colony and its commemorations

TRAVIS KAVULLA

EVENTS larger than oneself sometimes jostle awake a feeling of awe—my heart atwitter, this must have been the cause, for little could seem as momentous as last month's celebration of the 400th anniversary of Jamestown, Va., the oldest permanent Anglophone settlement in America.

The importance of the May 1607 landfall of 104 men and boys has long been recognized, and its commemoration has a history of its own. In 1907, one million people streamed to Virginia, where Teddy Roosevelt praised the kernel of American ingenuity found in the early colony. In 1957 Jamestown was made out to be "a mammoth undertaking, even though launched by a daring and courageous people in an expanding age," as a short history of the settlement released for the occasion put it. The grand message of the commemorations was unmistakable: Jamestown was a heroic enterprise, and out of hard and humble origins was born a mighty Republic, still growing in influence.

Arriving at the sprawling festival site, I went first to the recreated Jamestown settlement, wandered into the replica church, and sat in a pew beneath a panel bearing the royal coat of arms. Inscribed thereon is *Dieu et mon Droit*—"God and my Right," a nod to the divine right of kings, a philosophy at odds with the charter James I sent to his eponymous colony in Virginia in 1619, which gave colonists permission to establish a local, representative government.

I contemplated the mixed signals of Jacobite rule for a while—but it was not too long before historical reverie was interrupted by the modern: a dowdy, black-accoutred girl who plopped down in the pew next to me, her left ear punctured with four earrings, wearing a T-shirt that bore the message "Party More. Think Less."

This, much more than anything James stood for, might be a refrain of the Jamestown-at-400 celebration. For the colony is many things to many people, often in spite of history. And in the din of so large a commemoration, the essential threads of the Jamestown story are sometimes obscured.

To George W. Bush, who spoke at the celebration, Jamestown heralded "the consent of the people" in governance—though in its seminal first decade Jamestown was governed under two charters, neither democratic.

To Sandra Day O'Connor, who also spoke, the Virginia Company's investors were "the first venture capitalists." True, it was indeed a capitalist affair—one of the first joint-stock corporations in the world-but the company's demand for

Landing at Jamestown

"marchantable commodities" translated into an obsession with finding gold, to the neglect of foodstuffs and security.

Bluegrass musician Ricky Skaggs averred that the settlers "came here for religious freedom"—Jamestown is frequently confused with Plymouth—before asking the 27,000-strong audience to sing along to "The Old Rugged Cross." (Many did, and a prim Briton next to me commented, "I guess we're not in London anymore, now are we?") But by all indications Jamestown enjoyed less religious freedom than England itself. For a time, daily church attendance was mandatory—twice on Sundays—and the "Lawes Divine, Morall, and Martiall" mandated that blasphemers be punished by having their tongues nailed to posts.

Self-government, free enterprise, religious freedom—Jamestown has long been remembered for these grand ideals, though they have never fully squared with historical fact. At least, however, they sound consonant with the eventual meaning of Jamestown. But in 2007 the commemoration's purview has broadened beyond them: In performances and museum exhibits alike, Jamestown's storyline now exists in threes-one European, one Virginia Indian, and another African. Nonetheless, the mention of their coming-together has been on the lips of every dignitary from Queen Elizabeth to President Bush.

Two sides of this ethnic trinity make sense. But no matter how much the ugly history of southern plantation slavery may levy an emotional demand for their inclusion, Africans are clearly the odd group out.

If democracy had no bearing on Jamestown's course until 1619, neither did African slaves, the first of whom arrived the same year. Even by the 1670s, there were fewer than 1,000 black slaves in Virginia, compared with some 33,000 European settlers. Sitting near the remains of Jamestown's original fort, I asked James Horn, director of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's library, about the disparity between Africans' numbers and their representation at the commemoration. "The story here in the early years, 1607 to 1622, is certainly about two peoples," he acknowledged. "Ultimately, it was a struggle for the possession of land, and Africans did not play a large role." Yet it's a safe bet that the casual visitor would not leave the commemoration of Jamestown's founding with that impression.

If Africans are overemphasized in Jamestown's commemoration, Virginia's Indians have been elevated to a prominence that marks their rightful place in history.

The ineluctable coda to any discussion of American Indians is that they are largely gone, and that their disappearance owes, directly or indirectly, to the coming of Europeans. It is a sad history, but too often Indians' contemporary weakness is extrapolated backward to the past. At Jamestown, an odd, insufficiently contemplated tension

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exists in the depiction of Virginia's Indians by their modern-day representatives: Even while Indian history and culture are points of pride for their vitality, Indians are portrayed as the helpless victims of English abuse.

Jamestown's colonists rightly called Powhatan, the area Indians' leader, an emperor. Over the previous three decades, he had built one of the most significant Indian polities on the continent. And nearly all historians of Jamestown agree that the fledgling English settlement could have easily been wiped out on Powhatan's orders. He gambled instead. Hoping to expand his empire to the west, Powhatan elected to manipulate the English for the acquisition of guns and copper ("the gold of the Indians," as Horn described it to me).

Although serious histories recognize the Indians' power and disparage the false assumptions of English invincibility and inevitable conquest, this has not permeated the grassroots of mass commemoration. And much of Indians' popular representation seems the type of wisdom-of-the-ancients dross that might be found in Disney's *Pocahontas*. Apparently desperate attempts to balance Skaggs and "the legendary funk artist" Chaka Khan, as the program described her, led to Brulé, South Dakotan performers of "contemporary Native American music" (that is, acoustic guitar, flute, and keyboard). They, too, interspersed tunes with messages, but theirs were simply weird. "People ask me: What do you use to get your hair so long?" related the lead singer. "I use the blood and tears of my ancestors—because I know where I am from." Later, an Indian drum circle assembled on stage, and a photographer was dispatched from the press tent by his companion writer with the subtle remark, "We don't have a picture of something like that, do we?"

The inclusion of Indians makes the Jamestown story whole, but is it really so wrong to think that a commemoration of the act of settling should put the relevant settlers front and center?

In a remarkably comprehensive address that hearkened back to earlier commemorations, President Bush touched upon a theme of Jamestown that is both simple and true—that "the colonists who experienced those first years had little reason to celebrate. . . . The hope for a better life turned into a longing for the comforts of home."

Indeed, even when the colony was more surefooted, persistent drought, disease, and war contributed to staggering mortality rates. It is telling that, while 4,270 settlers embarked for the colony in the late 1610s and early '20s, Jamestown's total population in 1622 was 1,240. Jamestown's most impressive achievement is that it did not succumb to this mammoth attrition.

In the ever-expanding purview of the commemoration, the sad detail of Jamestown's early history can seem lost-even though it lends itself to an obvious, sober, timeless theme. Namely, that initial sacrifices must be made for future greatness.

As the weekend wore on, so grew my annoyance at a commemoration addicted to grand themes not borne out by history. By the evening of the commemoration's second day, it was high time for a drink. I ambled out of the press tent and took my place in a beer queue. I asked the older couple in line ahead of me, "How you guys enjoying it?"

In his early 70s, grizzled, from North Carolina, the husband volunteered that he had been here as a boy, in 1957, when Jamestown celebrated 350 years. I marveled—I asked, "What's different?" He glanced briefly to the stage where Chaka Khan writhed in a one-piece black pleather costume and matching satin cape. "Well, there's black people here today," he offered. I looked around; indeed, there were.

That Jamestown celebrated its last milestone anniversary in a time of segregation somehow had not dawned on me. What happened in Jamestown in the early 17th century is a constant, notwithstanding its popular reinvention. But it suddenly seemed naïve of me to expect that the dramatically different conditions under which Americans have remembered it in 1907, 1957, and 2007 would not affect, even in historically imprecise ways, how we see—what we want to see in—colonial Jamestown.

The commemoration was as much a party as it was a serious endeavor in history, and perhaps I just needed to lighten up. I drank my Bud Light, and with a second in hand meandered toward the stage where Chaka was crooning "Tell Me Something Good." I even danced. **NR**

■ **CULTURE WATCH**

Branding Cigs with 'R'

Bogart, Dietrich, and other cinematic smokers would simply die

ROB LONG

THERE's an old Hollywood story, which may or may not be true, about Humphrey Bogart. He was about to film an "explainer" scene—one of those dialogue-heavy set-pieces, where one character drones on for a page or two of crucial, but eye-glazing, exposition. Explainer scenes are pace-killers, but unavoidable: There's often no other way to let the audience know that the main character is an orphan, say, or how a cluster-bomb works, or that the hero and the mysterious

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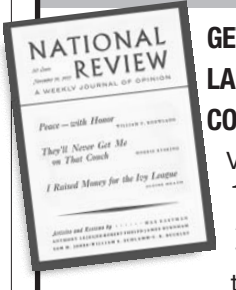

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woman had a love affair once, years ago.

But Bogart, like most actors, worried about boring the audience. The story goes that he looks down at the script, with its long column of dialogue, and then tells the director that the only way he'll do the scene, the only way the scene won't bore the audience, is if they place two camels in the background, and get them to copulate.

In the story, of course, he doesn't use the word "copulate."

Though his solution was extreme, Bogart's instincts were correct. In the end, he didn't get his two camels. What he got was a Camel Unfiltered.

They shot the scene as written, but the director gave Bogart a simple piece of on-screen business. All he had to do to inject the scene with some interesting drama was to say some lines while taking out a cigarette, tap it lightly to compact the tobacco, say some more lines, light the cigarette with a match, wave the match out and toss it contemptuously aside, say some more lines, take a big drag, and finish the speech. Cut. Print. Instant drama.

Smoking in movies has a long, glorious history of effectively solving the Explainer Scene problem. So it's alarming, if you're in the film business, to hear that the Motion Picture Association of America, the lobbying arm of the movie industry, is planning to crack down on on-screen smoking by adjusting its rating system to account for the (supposedly encouraging) effect that watching movie stars smoke has on young people. According to the MPAA's initial proposal, if characters in a picture smoke in a non-contextual, non-period-specific way—if, say, two contemporary cowboys who are not homosexual lovers light up, as opposed to the early-1960s gay-cowboy lovers in *Brokeback Mountain*—then the movie may find itself with an "R" rating, which severely restricts its box-office take. The idea here is that if kids stop seeing cool role-model movie stars light up, then they'll stop thinking that smoking is cool.

But smoking isn't cool because people do it in movies. People do it in movies because it's cool. Smoking is a lot more than just puffing away, as Bogart knew. Smoking is a collection of hand movements, lip actions, match striking, and heavy breathing, all to a measured, controlled tempo. Smoking slows things down—it's almost impossible to light a cigarette quickly—and it's irresistible to actors for the same reason it's irresistible to teenagers: It draws attention inexorably to the smoker and away from whatever mediocre dialogue he or she is forced to say, either because of a lazy screenwriter (in the case of the actor) or because of a lack of imagination caused by listening to simplistic dance music and watching too many episodes of MTV's *Pimp My Ride* (in the case of the screenwriter). Smoking is the answer to the question that adolescents and movie stars ask themselves all the time: What can I do with my hands so that I don't look like a boring, flighty spaz?

'A little smoke-'em-if-you-got-'em goes a long way.'

With the dialogue in most movies reduced to either one star screaming at the other star as the car they're driving goes out of control, or one character sitting in front of a computer terminal, and after tapping a few keys, turning to the other characters and saying, "I'm into the system," a little smoke-'em-if-you-got-'em goes a long way. The ponderous, wooden dialogue of the recent *Star Wars* movies would have seemed zesty and sharp if only Yoda had dangled a Marlboro from his greenish lips. "Begun," he says, taking a long, slow, last drag, "the clone war has." And then he tosses the butt to the ground and grinds it out with his tiny little foot.

And don't get me started on *An Inconvenient Truth*! Imagine Al Gore in front of that big screen. He shrugs. "We are all," he says, touching a match to the Kool in his lips, "going to die." Puff. Exhale. Pause. He stares at us. Takes another puff. And then moves on. Now *that's* entertainment.

Bogart's Law is effective in pretty much every sphere of conversation. I often wish that *more* people smoked, if only to enliven the soul-crushing tedium of most interaction. I'd love to light up at Starbucks. When they asked me what I'd like, I'd tap a cigarette on the counter. "What would I like?" I'd ask, thoughtfully. I'd put the cigarette in my mouth. Light the match. And as the match burned, getting closer to my fingers—*Will he burn himself? The flame is getting closer to his thumb! Oh! The tension!*—I'd study the menu board. Then, just at the right moment, I'd light the cigarette, take a drag, blow out the smoke in a long, melancholy sigh and say, "I'll have a Venti Soy Latte, please. Decaf." Smoking can make even a soy latte cool.

Imagine Bogart's Law at the Post Office: "I'll have a booklet of first-class stamps, please." Puff. Blow. Look away. Look back. "Do you have the ones with the kittens on them?" Puff. Blow.

Like all regulations, the new MPAA smoking guidelines are too late to be effective. The pack of Marlboros and the Bic lighter that teenagers used to tote around have long been replaced by the cellphone and the iPod, and even when cargo pants were in style that's a "too much equipment, too few pockets" situation. For most of us, it's impossible to imagine that tapping idiotically on a BlackBerry or Sidekick will ever be as cool as squinting into the distance while pinching a Camel between thumb and forefinger, but it does give the kids something to do with their hands. Besides, today's youth culture has dispensed with the need to act soulful and slow. The dramatic allure of smoking is lost on a generation whose idea of seductive behavior is texting "u r hot want 2 hook up?" You really do need to keep your hands free for that kind of thing. And until they discover that Bluetooth headsets cause cancer, that's what we're stuck with, in life and on screen. **NR**

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Comprehensively Awful

What President Bush and Senator Kennedy have wrought

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

Odd though it may seem to those following the debate on "comprehensive immigration reform," the most important element in the Senate bill is not whether it amounts to an amnesty for illegal immigrants. More important provisions are the number of immigrants it would admit in the future, the fiscal costs of admitting them and of legalizing the illegals already here, its effect on partisan politics, and much else. If these were the issues grabbing the headlines, the bill would be seen for what it is: a large, costly, and damaging assault on the American taxpayer and the U.S. political system.

Still, everyone wants to discuss amnesty—so let's get it out of the way. Here is a textbook definition of "amnesty" from no less an authority than a former U.S. attorney general, Edwin Meese III:

> Amnesty is an act by which past acts are forgotten and expunged from the record for future purposes. In the context of immigration, amnesty is most commonly defined as granting legal status to a defined group of individuals who are unlawfully present in the United States; that is, overlooking or forgetting the ongoing illegal presence in the United States in favor of adjusting that presence to a legal status. The granting of legal status is still an amnesty even if it is conditional and not automatic or does not lead to citizenship.

We could end the discussion at this point. The Meese definition disposes of the administration's argument that the Senate bill is not an amnesty because it requires an illegal alien to pay a fine before being granted citizenship. An amnesty is still an amnesty if it comes with conditions.

What this bill offers, however, goes well beyond amnesty. As the administration's argument makes plain (presumably inadvertently) by referring only to *citizenship*, the payment of a fine is not a condition that an alien must meet *to stay in the country legally*. Under the terms of the bill, the holder of a "probationary Z visa" can stay indefinitely without paying a wooden nickel. Only if he wants to go further and obtain U.S. citizenship must he pay a fine. He is then forgiven any backlog of unpaid taxes he may have accumulated in his long illegal residence. The president insisted on that provision because, according to a White House spokesman, "determining the past tax liability would have been very difficult and costly and extremely time-consuming" (not unlike my tax returns). And let's not forget that, in addition, the illegal alien also obtains the bonus of U.S. citizenship. This is said to be worth at least $100,000 on the international market.

If citizenship were transferable, paying the fine and selling the citizenship would be a no-brainer. As it is, many and perhaps most illegal aliens are not especially interested in becoming citizens. (Nor were many legal immigrants until citizenship became a requirement for some welfare benefits.) What they want is the right to live and work in America. The bill grants them this right without any penalty for past transgressions. That alone makes it an amnesty. But the whole package amounts to Amnesty Plus—an immigration and tax amnesty in one, with citizenship thrown in.

It would probably be wiser if the White House and the senators supporting the bill were to throw up their hands, admit, "Hey, sure, it's an amnesty," and change the subject. The more they protest, the more we skeptics are encouraged to delve into the extent and generosity of the privileges extended to illegal aliens. And the more we discover, the less we are inclined to trust what they tell us about the rest of the bill.

Several commentators, notably Jonah Goldberg on National Review Online, have noticed this unease. They argue that the strong popular and conservative resistance to the bill is explained less by its actual provisions than by the distrust ordinary Americans feel for politicians who have misled them in the past. That critique is accurate as far as it goes. President Bush's record is particularly problematic. His enforcement policy has been modeled on the Texan standard: "All hat and no cattle." Worksite arrests for immigration violations, for instance, fell sharply under him, to a mere 159 in 2004 from a high of several thousand under President Clinton—a decline of something like 97 percent (and 9/11 had occurred in the meantime). Yet whenever a debate on immigration is pending, the feds mount a dramatic workplace raid. Last April, when an earlier version of the present immigration bill was about to be presented to Congress, federal agents swooped in on plants in 26 states that belonged to a U.S. subsidiary of a Dutch company, IFCO. They arrested 1,187 illegal-immigrant workers and deported 275 of them.

As the skeptical Michelle Malkin predicted on her blog, however, four-fifths of those arrested were released into the community almost immediately—even before homeland-security chief

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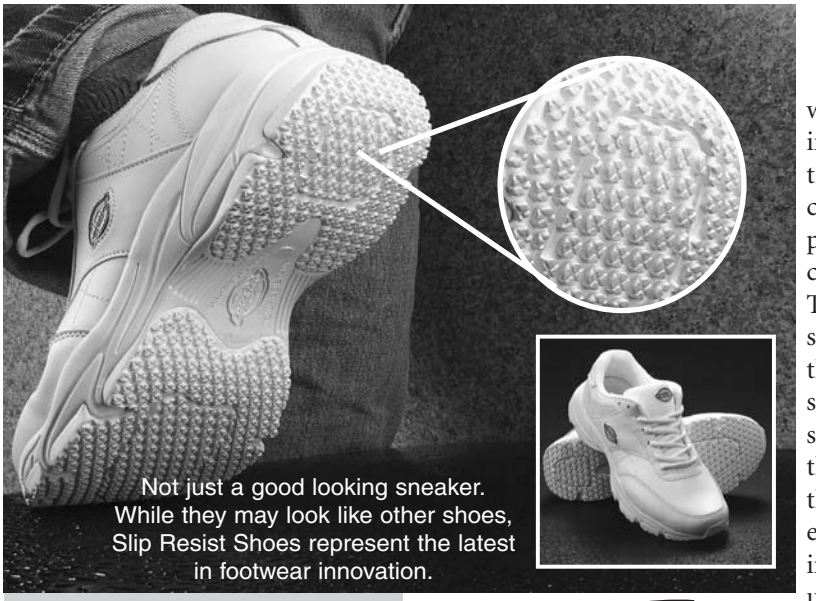
Revolutionary shoe design could save millions of older Americans from serious injury.

By John Fleming



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Michael Chertoff had made a well-publicized speech highlighting his department's new toughness. Perhaps Malkin's criticism irritated Chertoff, because he did toughen up enforcement over the next year. In 2006 no fewer than 716 people were charged with criminal violation of immigration law. That compares with only 25 criminal arrests back in 2002—and testifies to the fact that immigration was a major political issue throughout this period. An even larger raid than that on IFCO was launched later in the year, with success.

EXCUSES, EXCUSES

However useful politically, and however episodic, these raids tend to undercut one of the main arguments offered for the bill by its proponents: the idea that we simply can't mount workplace raids, arrest violators, and either deport or charge them—it would be un-American, and horrify the people. But if we can't do that, how come we actually do that whenever the administration wants to look tough on immigration? And how come such raids are not just greeted as acceptable, but are positively popular? If such firm enforcement of the law were the norm instead of an occasional and dramatic exception, illegal workers would soon be deterred, by all the risks of crossing the border, from seeking a job that might well not exist. Borders are porous today in part because the economic gains of crossing them are both substantial and secure once the immigrant gets through. Enforcement of immigration law by employer sanctions would significantly strengthen the border by reducing the incentives and increasing the risks of crossing. Once the supply of low-paid illegals dried up, moreover, wages would rise, bringing American workers out of the shadows to do those jobs that Americans "won't" do. This so-called attrition strategy is not mere theory; both of these effects have occurred following tough and well-publicized enforcement of the law. And as we have seen, the government itself acts on this logic when doing so suits its purposes.

Borders are porous today in part because the economic gains of crossing them are both substantial and secure once the immigrant gets through.

So workplace crackdowns designed to smooth the passage of amnesty-plus-guest-worker legislation inadvertently demonstrate the practicality of the alternative policy of "enforcement first." Call it the law of unintended insights. That said, Goldberg's point—that the resistance to the new bill arises from distrust of manipulative leaders—rests on solid foundations. Alas, that does not exonerate the bill. For its text is saturated with obscure provisions as fraudulent as anything in recent political history. Here are a few examples:

First, the bill's "temporary" Z visa will be available to the applicant while he is waiting for his background check to be completed. But according to Kris Kobach, a former adviser to the attorney general on immigration law, it can be renewed indefinitely until the holder dies. This allows the holder to work, attend college, and (in Kobach's words) "do just about anything else." It even allows a gang member to remain in the U.S., provided he sign a "renunciation of gang affiliation." Nothing lasts like the provisional, say the French, and America, not to be outdone, is set to prove the truth of that statement by offering the world's first permanent temporary visa.

Second, Z visas proper (i.e., non-temporary ones) are supposed to be issued only when a number of "trigger" provisions indicating greater border security have been met. But these triggers are worded in such a way as to virtually guarantee that the Homeland Security Department will declare that they have been met and that visas should therefore be issued. One trigger states, for instance, that 370 miles of border fence must be constructed before the visas can be issued. But the Secure Fence Act of last year authorized the building of 700 miles of fencing along the U.S.–Mexico border. Thus the trigger lies well below the amount of fencing that Congress has already approved.

Third, the bill is presented as a move away from family reunification to a skills-based immigration policy that will supposedly end "chain migration." For the next decade or so, however, the rate of chain migration for extended-family members would actually triple—from around 250,000 a year to around 750,000 a year. This would be done to eliminate the "family reunification" backlog. But a combination of other provisions—making family ties an item in the "points system" and establishing a new "hardship" category for family members—means that chain migration will not be reduced substantially, if at all, when the decade is over. After all, millions more legal immigrants, with the right to bring in family members, will then be living in the U.S.

The big picture here is a large surge in the number of legal immigrants at the same time as 12 to 20 million illegals are legalized—even though polls show clearly that most Americans think immigration levels are already too high.

FINE PRINT, BIG MESS

Most of this hocus-pocus is the work of Senator Kennedy's office, which is extraordinarily knowledgeable about immigration and has strong ties to the immigration bar. The White House has been cooperating with him throughout—the bill is really a Bush-Kennedy measure. To be sure, the Senate Republicans involved in the negotiations have won some concessions. But the complications and fine print of a 300-page bill mean that those concessions are less than they hoped for—and also that they don't always know what's in the bill. John McCain, who boasted of knowing more about the topic than anyone in the room during a well-publicized spat with Senator John Cornyn, was surprised (and upset) to discover that the White House had persuaded Kennedy to insert the tax amnesty. Republican senators were understandably expecting a rough reception from their constituents as they planned their departure for the Memorial Day weekend. It may well have been rougher than they expected. So why are they and the White House splitting the GOP over an avoidable controversy?

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This is a real mystery. On almost every score the bill is damaging to Republican values and U.S. interests. Even those provisions that the Republicans wanted—for instance, the 400,000 guest workers—are blatant sops to specific business interests and party donors. They make the GOP look like a front for corporate America. Almost everything else is harmful at best and suicidal at worst.

There is no economic case for the bill. To repeat the essential economic facts about immigration: Its net impact on the living standards of native-born Americans is basically a wash. The National Academy of Sciences estimated that it amounted to between $1 billion and $10 billion in 1997—negligible sums in an economy worth about $8 trillion that year. The figures have changed since then, but not the proportion. What economic benefits of immigration there are go mainly to the immigrants themselves in the form of wages and salaries.

But that does not exhaust the economic argument. It is well known that immigration redistributes income from the poor to the rich as immigrants are willing to work for lower wages than native-born Americans. As a result, it reduces the incomes and job opportunities of blacks and other low-paid Americans. Three economists who specialize in the economics of immigration—George Borjas, Jeffrey Grogger, and Gordon Hanson—recently addressed the question of whether immigration has any relationship with the relatively high imprisonment rates for black Americans in a paper for the National Bureau of Economic Research. They concluded: "The 1980–2000 immigrant influx . . . generally 'explains' about 20 to 60 percent of the decline in wages, 25 percent of the decline in employment, and about 10 percent of the rise in incarceration rates among blacks with a high-school education or less." (They found similar but lesser effects for low-paid white Americans.)

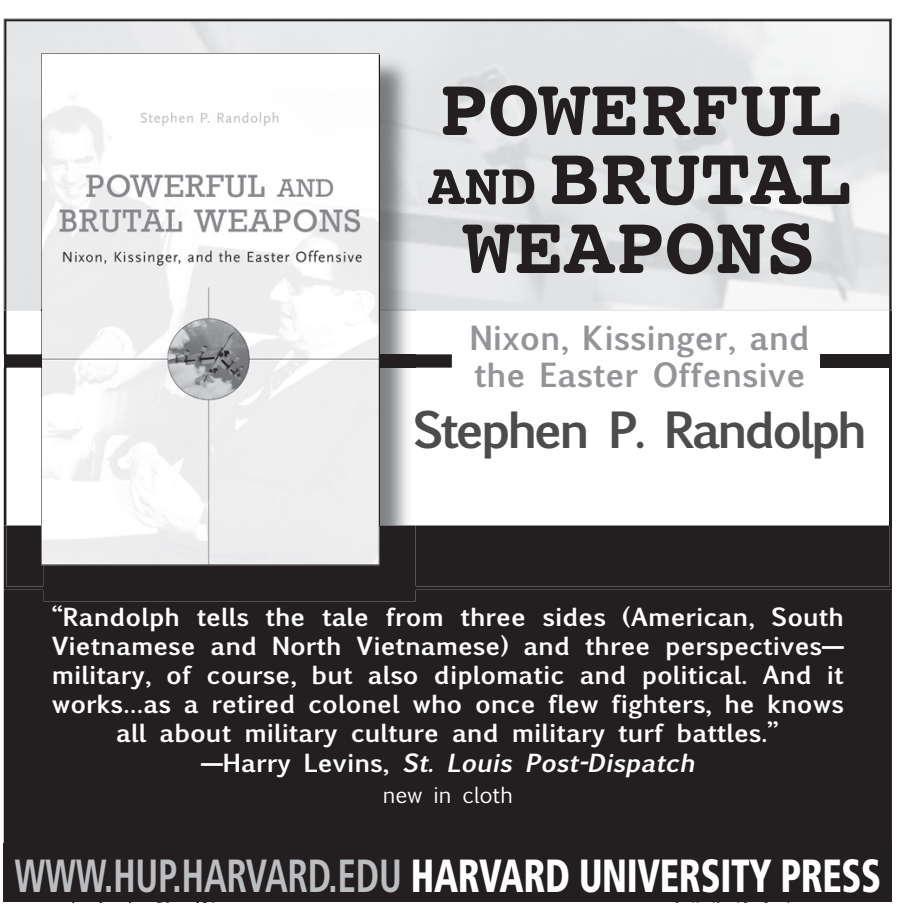
If immigration is a wash from a narrow economic standpoint, it is a serious problem from a larger social one—and a disaster in fiscal terms. Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation—whose previous estimates of such fiscal costs have easily survived White House attacks—now predicts that the new bill will rack up $2.4 trillion in total net government costs. That is almost equal to the cost of the entire annual federal budget. He calculates as follows: "Receiving, on average, $19,588 more in immediate benefits than they pay in taxes each year, low-skill immigrant households impose substantial long-term costs on the U.S. taxpayer. Assuming an average 60-year adult life span for heads of household, the average lifetime costs to the taxpayer will be nearly $1.2 million for each low-skill household, net of any taxes paid."

That does not end the matter, of course. Though the immigrants benefiting from the bill are disproportionately poor and unskilled, others might be of greater help to the U.S. Treasury. On the other side of the ledger, however, our estimate of the number of illegals likely to benefit from the bill may be far too low. The 1986 amnesty was expected to cover only 1 million people; in the event, 3 million people received it. So even if some of Rector's specific estimates turn out to be wrong, his conclusion that this bill is the biggest expansion of the welfare state in history is likely to prove spot-on.

NAKED POLITICS

Obviously the Democrats like this sort of thing. The expansion of the welfare-receiving classes—in addition to being a good thing in itself, in their view—will expand the constituencies for the big government and "compassionate spending" that they want. Indeed they are distinctly clear-eyed about the drawbacks and benefits to them of immigration. Rep. Barney Frank candidly admitted that higher immigration was damaging to the interests of the blue-collar workers he claims to represent. But he went on to explain his support for it on the grounds that, since the immigrants would vote overwhelmingly for Democrats, the blue-collar workers would benefit in the end.

If that is so, why would any Republican support the bill? Two reasons in one seem to be the ultimate explanation: George Bush wants a legacy—and he believes that an immigration reform bringing a shift of Hispanic support to the GOP would give him one. It is humanly understandable that the president should nourish even such unrealistic hopes. But it is staggering that any other Republican should believe them.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Hispanics regularly divide roughly two to one for the Democrats in elections—sometimes the split is bigger, sometimes smaller—but they never give Republicans majority support. That substantial minority of Hispanics which leans Republican is relatively uninterested in immigration; more broadly, it is attempting to emancipate itself from purely ethnic loyalties in its movement toward Americanism and the GOP. The Hispanics who will be legalized—and eventually perhaps "citizenized"—by the Senate bill are disproportionately poor and thus, as Barney Frank realizes, natural Democrat material. If they were to break according to the two-to-one lines of the entire Hispanic community, that would mean a net gain of between 4 and 7 million votes for the Democrats nationally. Those Republicans supporting this measure are committing slow suicide on behalf of a president who has done them and the GOP very few favors. As the French general said of the charge of the Light Brigade: *C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre.*

A final argument mounted by advocates of the bill is that, whatever its flaws, it is still an improvement on the status quo in which 12 to 20 million illegal immigrants live in the shadows of our society. This argument seems to have impressed some conservatives. It shouldn't.

To begin with, the status quo is not some unalterable reality handed down by Providence. It is the result of, inter alia, quite deliberate government policy. Some elements of that policy can be changed only by legislation—for instance, switching from an immigration policy based on family reunification to one rooted in job skills—and can therefore be introduced in current circumstances only with Democratic support. Most legislative reforms, however, are changes that the Democrats want. Hence the strong bias in the bill toward policies favored by Ted Kennedy, the Democrats, and immigration lawyers.

What the GOP wants (or should want) is stronger border security, tougher workplace enforcement, and more money for both. All these things are supposed to be already available under current law. It is the Bush administration's failure to enforce these laws systematically that has created a status quo supposedly worse than the Senate bill. If those Democrats who want to impeach President Bush had a sense of humor, they would cite his immigration record at the head of the indictment. At the very least it would embarrass Republicans—and it might prompt Bush to improve the status quo.

As long as the president fails to enforce the law, however, he can hardly cite his own failure as a reason for bringing in something new. Even without improvement, however, is the status quo really worse than the bill? After all, the bill would confirm the status quo in its main aspect—the millions who arrived here illegally would remain. But they would now enjoy a variety of additional rights, from voting to welfare, and, for that reason, impose a variety of costs on the American taxpayer. More than $2 trillion is a high price for Americans to pay just to bring intruders out of the shadows. And the revelation that official America is willing to pay such large sums—and to undermine the rule of law as well—in order to avoid any appearance of hardheartedness would amount to inviting another 12 million illegals to join the aliens already here. We would soon be back where we started.

In short the status quo is actually better than the Senate bill. It's as bad as that. **NR**

■ **2008 II**

A Singular Issue

Why abortion should doom Giuliani's campaign

RAMESH PONNURU

In April, a reporter overheard Rudy Giuliani explaining his theory of the campaign: "that the other candidates would divide up the 'right-wing' voters, as he called them, leaving him to consolidate the moderates and the economic and military conservatives who aren't fixated on social issues." It was a perfectly reasonable analysis. People for whom prohibiting abortion is a top priority are not going to favor the presidential campaign of a man who wants to keep abortion legal and, indeed, to subsidize it. It would be irrational if they did favor it, and it would be irrational for Giuliani to court them.

Since Giuliani's campaign began, however, vast quantities of political commentary have been devoted to obscuring these simple truths. Generally this commentary has come from writers who do not themselves care about protecting unborn life but feel qualified to lecture people who do about how they should advance their agenda. While the emphases of the commentators vary, their basic argument is that presidents cannot do much to affect abortion policy except to appoint judges, and that Giuliani is just as conservative as the other candidates on that question.

This argument has not swayed many of the "right-wing" voters Giuliani mentioned. But they are not, as Giuliani's boosters often note, the entirety of the Republican electorate. Some Republican primary voters, perhaps a third of them, think that abortion should usually be legal. In the middle are those who might be called the party's swing voters on abortion: They are pro-life, but not vehemently so, and may pay more attention to issues such as the war on terrorism and taxes than they do to abortion in determining for whom to vote. It is this group that Giuliani is trying hardest to court. But all three groups have reason for concern about Giuliani's position on abortion.

NO MODUS VIVENDI

So far, not even pro-life organizations have gone to the barricades against Giuliani. As yet, there is no movement afoot for "Anyone but Rudy." Perhaps pro-life leaders had the same initial reaction to Giuliani's campaign that I did. I doubted that Giuliani could win the nomination, not least because of his support for abortion. But I did not want pro-lifers to close the door on him, either. Instead, I thought, pro-lifers should encourage him to meet us halfway. If Giuliani somehow won the nomination, I wanted it to come only after he had sweated blood trying to appeal to us. A

Mr. Ponnuru, an NR senior editor, is the author of *The Party of Death: The Democrats, the Media, the Courts, and the Disregard for Human Life.*

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painful nomination process would limit the damage that his precedent would set: It would establish that a pro-choicer could win the Republican nomination only if he had exceptional qualities to offset that flaw and reached a modus vivendi with pro-lifers.

But while thinking the pro-life movement and its allies should give Giuliani a chance, I thought it unlikely that I would be able to vote for him in the primary myself even if he made the right gestures. There was, for one thing, his past support for partial-birth abortion.

In 2000, Giuliani had briefly run for the Senate. He sought to replace Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a pro-choice Democrat who opposed partial-birth abortion, calling it "too close to infanticide." The Democrat in the race, Hillary Clinton, disagreed—and so did Giuliani. He said, "I would vote to preserve the option for women." He had said the year before that he didn't "see my position on that changing." He would not change his position even to get the Conservative party to endorse him in the Senate contest.

This year, Giuliani's position changed. He said that he now supported a ban because it included an exception for the life of the mother. This explanation made no sense. He had never previously mentioned this concern, and earlier versions of the bill that he opposed had included a life-of-the-mother exception. But Giuliani's nearly pointless dishonesty was not as troubling as the mere fact that he had once supported partial-birth abortion at all.

Think, for a moment, about the reasons the pro-life movement had highlighted this issue to begin with. Our society does not, to put it mildly, cultivate in its members a sensibility that recoils viscerally from the intentional destruction of human lives at their earliest stages. The case for protecting those lives does not come easily and naturally to people in this society, unless they happen to belong to sub-societies, almost always religious, that try to form people's consciences against such destruction. So it is that people of generally sound mind and good will can reach what pro-lifers regard as incorrect conclusions about abortion and related issues.

But partial-birth abortion was different. Our society is not so far gone that people cannot grasp its horror. Even many people who can see nothing wrong with allowing early-term abortion instinctively knew that partial-birth abortion should not be allowed. For his part, Giuliani could not see that his indifference to the practice meant that he was either far gone in the ideology of "choice" or willing to override his moral intuitions for the sake of apparent political convenience. If a politician had, in 2000, declared that he had found Peter Singer's arguments for infanticide persuasive, but then later announced that he had changed his mind, we would not have let bygones be bygones. We would have had serious nagging doubts about the man; and so we should, if to a lesser degree, about Giuliani.

A CLEAR RECORD

As it turned out, Giuliani went no farther in pro-lifers' direction. In a series of confused and confusing comments, he even declared that he believed state governments should fund abortions for women who cannot pay for them. It may be that his rival Mitt Romney's attempts to present himself as a convert on a large number of issues, combined with the ferocious reaction to those attempts, caused Giuliani to think it better to stay in place. Pro-lifers, and everyone else, will have to take him as he is.

Lazy and biased reporters have been calling Giuliani's position on abortion "centrist." It has been no such thing. The libertarian columnist Deroy Murdock, a fan of Giuliani's, thinks that his fellow pro-lifers can take solace in the fact that abortion rates fell when he was mayor. They fell faster than the national average (but more slowly than the state average). But if Giuliani's policies caused any portion of this decline—and that is a big if—it was an incidental effect. They were certainly not designed to bring the abortion rate down.

Murdock further points out that Giuliani did not promote abortion when he was mayor. But consider the context. Late-term abortions are easily available in the city, it's a destination for women elsewhere in the country who are seeking them, and parental notification is not required. The city, moreover, funds abortions for all who cannot afford them. Giuliani showed no discomfort with this state of affairs. Indeed, believing in private charity, Giuliani and his then wife provided a little extra funding of their own to Planned Parenthood. How much more could Giuliani have done to make abortion prevalent in New York? Murdock's standard—that he didn't go out of his way to promote abortion in what has rightly been called the country's "abortion capital"—amounts to giving Giuliani credit for not going around performing abortions himself.

> Lazy and biased reporters have been calling Giuliani's position on abortion 'centrist.' It has been no such thing.

In a way, Giuliani's nomination would cause more trouble for the pro-life cause than his election would. The pro-life cause can survive without a pro-life president: It emerged from the Clinton years stronger than it had been at their beginning. But it will find it harder to survive without a pro-life party. And that would be the meaning of his nomination, even if most Republican congressmen and governors remained pro-life, and even if the party platform, left unread and unheeded, continued to offer solidarity to the unborn. America has been a presidential nation, politically, for almost a century now. The parties are, in the public mind, their leaders; and those leaders are their presidential nominees.

The most specific polls on abortion policy ask respondents whether they think abortion should be banned altogether, banned with exceptions when the pregnancy threatens the mother's life or resulted from rape, or allowed. Such polls consistently find that the people who want to ban abortion altogether and the people who want to ban it with rare exceptions add up to a majority of Americans. If Giuliani wins the Republican nomination, that majority will have no representation at the level of presidential politics. We will instead have a contest between a candidate who believes that taxpayers should fund abortion through the federal government and one who believes they should do it through state governments.

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In 1973, the Supreme Court tried to declare an end to the state-by-state debate on abortion by setting abortion policy nationally. The *New York Times*, the next day, reported on the decision as a "historic resolution" of the abortion controversy. Before that day, supporters of legal abortion had claimed that their policy was necessary for women's equality, or population control, or the promotion of liberty. On that day, however, they acquired the most powerful arrow in their quiver: the assertion that abortion policy was a settled matter, an assertion that had the strong support of the country's journalistic, financial, and legal elites. The principal reason that the question has not been closed is that over the last 30 years the Republican party has stood—shakily at times, it is true, but always officially—against this elite consensus.

The abortion lobby would not be alone in declaring the Republican party to have capitulated to this consensus with Giuliani's nomination. So would neutral observers; and even some pro-lifers would give up the fight.

EYEING THE JUDICIARY

But Giuliani's judicial appointments will make up for all of that, we are told. Giuliani has promised to nominate "strict constructionists" to the federal bench. The phrase drives actual judicial conservatives, such as Justice Antonin Scalia, up the wall; but we know what he is getting at. Or do we? Giuliani says that the judges of his ideal might vote to overturn *Roe*, or might vote to keep it as a precedent. He is, evidently, pro-choice about his judges. He will not share with us his opinion of what the Court should do, or even whether *Roe* was correctly decided as an original matter. (He has been perfectly willing to sound off on other constitutional issues.) He does not stand against abortion; he does not even stand for democracy on the issue. Giuliani's party would no longer be a pro-life party. It would instead be a party committed vaguely to a judicial philosophy that he can't even quite name.

Now, in one sens, Giuliani's views of *Roe* do not matter. None of our last three Republican presidents, all of them pro-life, has interviewed possible judicial nominees to get them to declare that they would vote to overturn *Roe*. If they had vetted nominees in that manner, it would have been very hard to get them confirmed.

But Giuliani's nomination would change everything. By moving the politics of abortion to the left, his nomination would also—regardless of Giuliani's intentions now—move the politics of judicial confirmations to the left. If the range of acceptable opinions on abortion policy narrowed, so would the range of acceptable opinions on *Roe*. A nominee who followed the pattern of Samuel Alito, with a history of hostility to *Roe* and no extravagant shows of respect for it in his confirmation hearings, would seem more extreme than Alito in fact did. If Giuliani nonetheless sent up such a nominee, would he really fight for him if the Democrats chose *Roe* as the battle line?

And once a nominee made it to the bench? We have reason to think that the justices are exquisitely sensitive to political cues. It has been speculated that the three Republican appointees who wrote the plurality opinion rescuing *Roe* in 1992 thought they were doing their party a favor; and when the current administration signaled to the justices that it did not want them to abandon racial preferences in university admissions, a decisive number of them seemed to follow the advice fairly closely. Under a President Giuliani, we can expect Justice Kennedy's pro-*Roe* inclinations to harden. His own nominees might, on the bench, read the political climate the same way. The message of Giuliani's nomination on the abortion cases would be simple: The elected branches of government are not interested in a reopening of this question.

But let's assume, for the sake of argument, that President Giuliani did, indeed, nominate stalwart conservatives to the Supreme Court; that he saw them through successful confirmation hearings; and that, with their votes, *Roe* was finally overturned. Let us assume, that is, that thanks to Giuliani, states would have the freedom to move against abortion. That is the maximalist case for a pro-lifer to have hope in Giuliani. What would happen the next day? If the Democratic Congress sent Giuliani legislation to codify *Roe*—and thus to take back that freedom from the states—would he really veto it? He has not even promised to veto abortion-funding legislation. If he let it through, pro-lifers would have gained almost nothing.

By moving the politics of abortion to the left, Giuliani's nomination would also move the politics of judicial confirmations to the left.

And they would have lost on other fronts. Pro-lifers have some business outside the courts, and both they and Republicans generally have deemed that business important. Most Republicans have fought to restrict federal funding on embryo-destructive research, for example, and to keep federal funds from going to organizations that promote or perform abortions overseas. The case that pro-lifers can live with Giuliani assumes that none of these legislative issues matter.

A NET GAIN

The pro-life position has carried real costs for the Republican party, in terms of lost votes. But those costs have been more than offset by the gains the party has made. For more than two decades, exit polls have shown that people who vote on the basis of abortion are far more likely to be pro-lifers than pro-choicers. (Using that measure, the issue netted George W. Bush 2.4 million votes in 2000.) Without the realignment of American politics based on social issues—a realignment caused by abortion more than any other issue—the Republicans would never have attained the near-parity they have today.

Now would be a strange moment in our politics for Republicans to abandon the pro-life cause, or even to weaken their commitment to it. The party is in serious trouble these days, for all kinds of reasons—but its pro-life position is not one of them. The public has been moving in a pro-life direction. In this season of Republican discontent, for the first time ever, a few polls show more Amer-

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icans identifying themselves as pro-life than pro-choice. The 2006 elections went badly for pro-lifers: But pro-lifers, as a group, did better than Republicans, as a group. In the tightest races, the Democrats were far more likely to emphasize their economic liberalism than their social liberalism; and in a few of the tight races the Democrats won by running an out-and-out social conservative.

Some of Giuliani's supporters have argued that his candidacy offers the Republican party a chance to "move beyond" the social issues. If Giuliani ever embraced that rationale himself—if his campaign ever became an explicit effort to sideline pro-lifers—then pro-lifers would be crazy not to respond in kind. But that rationale would also make no sense for the party's future. Campaigning on economic and national-security issues alone, Republicans would almost certainly do worse.

In 2004, George W. Bush carried 80 percent of voters who chose their candidate based on "moral values," but lost 80 percent of voters who cited "jobs" and "the economy" as their top issues. The *New York Times* that year ran a story about voters in swing states such as Ohio and Iowa who were torn between the presidential candidates: They thought their economic interests lay with John Kerry, but their values lined up with Bush. Nominating Giuliani would make such voters' choices a lot easier. (And that's leaving aside the possibility of a party split, a convention walkout, or a third-party challenge.)

If Giuliani lost because he alienated those voters, the damage might outlast 2008. If the Republicans nominated a pro-lifer in 2012, that candidate would have to overcome these voters' suspicion that the party did not really care about the issues that drew them to it.

Many Giuliani supporters favor him in spite of his social-issue positions, not because of them. They do not assume that his pro-choice position would make him more electable or a better president. Rather, they assume that his virtues—his competence, his proven leadership ability, his accomplishments as the mayor who saved New York City and bucked up the nation during Sept. 11—more than make up for that position.

Perhaps it would work in November 2008. The political danger for Republicans is that they would then be trading a one-time victory for future trouble. The next Republican nominee will, after all, almost certainly not have Giuliani's distinctive strengths but will have to deal with his impact on the party's structure. Win or lose, then, Giuliani could damage the brand.

The most serious case for Giuliani is that the country needs his strong leadership, particularly since we are engaged in a war on terrorism. This case cannot be dismissed out of hand, but it is not a slam-dunk either. We don't really know how he would handle national-security policy. We can guess that he would have fired underperforming generals in Iraq; but we have no idea whether he would have launched the Iraq War in the first place. Toughness and competence are not a policy; and it is not obvious that Giuliani is more competent, or tougher, than his principal rivals.

Some of Giuliani's pro-life opponents are single-issue voters. But all pro-lifers should rank the sanctity of life somewhere above, say, telecom policy in evaluating a candidate. There are other considerations that argue for and against Giuliani. His nomination would, however, set back causes that most Republicans have rightly considered important, and for that very reason could weaken conservatism generally. That is reason enough to reject him. **NR**

■ AT WAR

Iraq As It Is . . .

. . . and not as individuals might have it be

FREDERICK W. KAGAN &
KIMBERLY KAGAN

THERE are actually *two* countries between Iran and Syria. One is Iraq, a land caught between al-Qaeda terrorists and Iranian-supported Shiite extremists. Iraq is a country facing a complex set of challenges, run by imperfect leaders with various agendas, protected by many courageous security forces hindered by sectarian elements among them. It is a country in which American forces are essential to establishing and securing order and are succeeding in that task. It is a country where there are no easy solutions, but where success is possible if Americans and Iraqis show the necessary determination and skill.

The other country between Iran and Syria might be called "MyRaq." (For this coinage, we are indebted to our friend Joel Rayburn.) This is a different country entirely—a land that exists only in the imaginations of various American political leaders in Washington and in the Green Zone. In MyRaq, the problems are fairly simple and solutions are obvious, although they differ from one MyRaq to another:

■ Sunni and Shiite MyRaqis simply hate each other and want to kill each other as they have for centuries. Violence in MyRaq cannot be controlled because it is the reflection of irrational hatred.

■ American troops are seen as occupiers in MyRaq. They are the irritant that drives the violence. If only the U.S. withdrew, the MyRaqis would stop killing one another and the war would end.

■ MyRaq must find its own solutions to its problems. Real peace can result only from political accommodations that the MyRaqi leaders have so far been unwilling to make, largely because the presence of American forces has allowed them to duck making the hard calls.

■ MyRaqis are a bunch of welfare queens who won't do anything for themselves as long as Americans are willing to do it for them. If we want the MyRaqis to establish and maintain security, we've got to pull back and force them to do it. We can leave some training teams to help them work better, but MyRaqi Security Forces should be doing all the heavy lifting in the MyBaghdad Security Plan and throughout the country.

■ Problems in MyRaq come from MyRanian (and MySyrian) influence and intervention. MyRan (a fictitious country that deserves a study of its own) is acting out of self-defense in MyRaq, fearful of an overbearing America that refuses to

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address its legitimate concerns. Diplomatic overtures toward MyRan would reduce MyRanian interference in MyRaq, leading to peace.

■ MyRaq is an artificial country whose boundaries have no meaning to its people. It should be partitioned into three states—MyKurdistan, MySunnistan, and MyShiitestan—which would then be peaceful and stable. After all, MyRaq was divided into three vilayets when under Ottoman control and we all know how stable it was then.

Unfortunately, the problems facing Iraq—and their solutions—are far more complex.

THE U.S. ROLE

In Iraq, terrorists and militias are perpetrating sectarian violence, which is not otherwise endemic to modern Iraqi society. Iraqi Sunni and Shiites have lived together for generations, in cities and in rural areas, and have intermarried. Partition will not be possible without the forced movement of hundreds of thousands of people, many of whom do not want to move. And partition would be unstable. Both Sunnis and Shiites believe that they have a right to part of Baghdad. Fighting after partition would be at least as great as it was in 2006, and it would become endemic.

The trouble is not that Iraq's communities hate each other. Rampant violence between Sunnis and Shiites in Iraq did not erupt until February 2006, even though Sunni insurgents had been fighting coalition forces for several years and Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq, had stated his determination to incite sectarian violence in early 2004. He finally succeeded by destroying one of the holiest Shiite mosques. Since then, al-Qaeda and other Sunni extremist groups have targeted the residents of mixed neighborhoods, Shiite neighborhoods, and even purely Sunni neighborhoods. These terrorists have kidnapped and killed innocent Shiites in order to drive Shiite families from their homes alongside Sunni neighbors. Extreme cells of Shiite militias, in turn, have kidnapped and executed Sunni men, women, and children in order to displace residents from the neighborhoods where they have lived intermixed with Shiites.

For this reason, American troops must protect Iraqi civilians from violence, as they are doing now. The al-Qaeda and Shiite militias do not attack each other; they attack each other's innocent populations. Coalition operations to prevent such killings have been successful: Since Operation Enforcing the Law began on February 14, execution-style killings have fallen by two-thirds. American troops and American reconstruction efforts have enabled some markets in Baghdad to reopen, and economic and social life to resume along streets recently occupied by terrorists or militias. For example, significant U.S. forces fought al-Qaeda and other terrorists along Haifa Street in a series of multi-day combats in January 2007. American troops expelled those violent groups and patrol the area regularly. The market around the corner from Haifa Street is now flourishing. Sunnis and Shiites shop there. Their children play alongside the stalls.

American troops now stand not between warring communities, but between innocent Iraqi civilians and violent groups. If America backs off from this effort, the militias will be killing civilians on a larger scale. If America withdraws from Iraq outright, the neighboring states will probably intervene to try to fill the power vacuum. When we visited Iraq recently, one Iraqi general told us, "No true Iraqi citizen wants American forces to leave Iraq. Only terrorists and militias want the Americans to leave."

THE LOCALS HAVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS

Iraq's leaders face tough problems that concern the survival of their state: how to reform the constitution, how to distribute power among groups, which groups should share in political power, what the rights of the majority and the minority should be. They are making these decisions not in peace and security, but in the crisis of wartime. Iraqi leaders also must develop the power and capacity of their government to provide services and enforce the law, while terrorists and militias actively attempt to undermine the government and destroy Iraq's ailing infrastructure. These problems would be challenges in any system, and even for the greatest and most experienced statesmen.

Experienced statesmen do not run Iraq. The current government took office only one year ago. Almost all of its leaders are new to governing, because the Iraqi constitution prevents the Baath party members who ran Saddam Hussein's bureaucracies from participating in the current government.

Iraqi institutions make resolving these complex problems harder. The current constitution is imperfect. The office of the prime minister lacks power—ministers do not serve at the pleasure of the prime minister as in most parliamentary systems. Nor does the PM control an effective majority in the Council of Representatives, so he cannot move legislation reliably; because of the sectarian distribution of offices, his political opponents operate within the government. Many elected leaders represent narrow sectarian interests, rather than the interests of the majority of the inhabitants of a city or province. Militias respond to a variety of leaders, but the PM does not have a militia of his own; he is handicapped, therefore, in dealing with the fact that others in his government can wield force to their own ends.

Iraq's leaders face pressures from many sides. The American political and military presence prevents the Iraqi government from caving entirely to the pressures of sectarian leaders or collapsing in the face of extensive violence. Far from allowing Iraqi leaders to avoid tough choices, America's military presence *helps* Iraqi leaders make the hard decisions. A withdrawal of U.S. forces will only leave the government of Iraq vulnerable to militias, terrorists, and aggressive neighbors.

NOT READY YET

The Iraqi security forces are not yet ready to defend the Iraqi people from sophisticated, well-organized, well-armed enemies. They depend on American forces for logistics, communications, air support, and artillery support. America cannot build these capacities within the Iraqi military overnight. Furthermore, secret cells of Shiite extremists have infiltrated some of the Iraqi security forces and have been kidnapping and killing innocent civilians in order to advance their sectarian agenda. The U.S. has an obligation to protect Iraqis from sectarian killing, while destroying these secret cells, as it has begun to do. Well-led Iraqi forces are assisting the U.S. in its efforts to rid Iraq of the mili-

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tias preying on the population. Recent operations in Diwaniyah, conducted by the Eighth Iraqi Army Division with the support of U.S. and Polish forces, exemplify the skills of well-trained, non-sectarian Iraqi army units. The Iraqi army is stepping up; but it cannot act alone.

Iran is supplying the most lethal weapons being used against American soldiers: explosively formed projectiles (EFPs), the signature explosive that Shiite militias emplace along roadways to destroy U.S. vehicles and kill U.S. soldiers. Iran is training some Shiite militias and their leaders in Iran and providing advisers to these groups within Iraq. Iran is also training—and perhaps supplying—some Sunni terrorist groups. Iran is thus funding competing militias and political parties.

Diplomatic negotiations between the U.S. and Iran will not solve these problems. Iran has faced a grave strategic threat from Iraq for decades. It is in Iran's interests to foment instability and a weak state in Iraq; or else to exert enough power that Iraq's government serves Iran's interests; or else actually to gain enough military power to overwhelm Iraq and other states in the region. America's interests are exactly contrary to Iran's. There is little room for compromise. And there is no reason for Iran to compromise as long as American defeat in Iraq appears possible. The U.S. will continue to lack leverage with which to negotiate until we have succeeded in Iraq and restored some measure of balance to the region.

America can still succeed in Iraq. Al-Qaeda and other extremist groups have attempted to terrorize Iraq's Sunni population into supporting their extremist interpretation of Islam. Most Sunni communities in Iraq have rejected this. In Anbar province, where the Sunni insurgency flourished from 2003 to 2006, tribal sheiks are expelling al-Qaeda. Their sons are joining the Iraqi security forces by the thousands. The anti-al-Qaeda movement is spreading into other Sunni provinces, such as Salah-ad-Din, and into mixed provinces, such as Diyala. American forces are helping the government of Iraq provide services, such as fuel distribution, to these areas. American forces are helping these communities secure themselves. American forces are establishing local governments. American forces are trying to establish a system of provincial elections that will give the Sunnis a share of power and a chance to participate in governing Iraq.

American political leaders must formulate policies based on ground truth, not on their imaginations. MyRaq is a fantasy land. It requires no complex intelligence system to understand—reality in MyRaq is whatever we say it is. Iraq, on the other hand, is real, filled with people and problems too complex to legislate from 6,000 miles away. American policymakers must debate and discuss the situation as it is. This debate requires a sophisticated and sustained effort to understand the actual situation in Iraq. There are no simple solutions to the problems in Iraq. America's presence advances, though it does not guarantee, the creation of a stable government for all Iraqis. America's presence prevents widespread sectarian cleansing. America's presence gives the Iraqi government an opportunity to grow in capacity and resolve political problems peacefully. Time, patience, and the establishment of security lay the groundwork for complex political negotiations and compromises. Setting timelines or withdrawing American forces will not pressure Iraqis to make tough decisions. It will guarantee failure. **NR**

■ THE MIDDLE EAST

'Live It. Love It!'

How Arab nations struggle not to 'lack behind'

JAY NORDLINGER

Dead Sea, Jordan

King Abdullah seems everywhere in this country, his kingdom, if only in pictures: His portrait hangs in grand buildings and humble shops; often it is accompanied by a portrait of his late father, King Hussein. The young monarch is on the front pages of newspapers and on the covers of magazines. You will not be shocked to hear that coverage of him is overwhelmingly positive. But, in fairness, there is much to be positive about. Jordan is on the rise, and Abdullah is its symbol: dynamic, sharp, modern, optimistic, forward-looking.

The queen, Rania, is a symbol, too. I have described her as a fairy-tale queen, and so she is: A more photographable consort would be hard to imagine. But she is also a civic leader, and even an Arab leader. Recently, she told a gathering of women from the region, "You are some of the Arab world's finest ambassadors. As you go about your daily meetings, your international phone calls, and your global travel, you are dispelling myths, correcting misperceptions, and showcasing the multifaceted realities of Arab women."

She added, "Of course, many of the old obstacles still exist, and I do not want to pretend otherwise. We have a long way to go in changing cultural mindsets; in convincing society that we can be wives, mothers, and career women; in promoting gender-friendly legislation; in getting more women into parliament and decision-making roles; and in keeping girls in the workforce after university."

King Abdullah speaks the language of openness, transparency, reform. (Incidentally, he is not to be confused with the Abdullah who rules a neighboring state: Saudi Arabia.) It is clear that he wants Jordan to be an Arab tiger, and the road leading to the country's latest international conference is dotted with a sign:

Established Rule of Law
Thriving Private Sector
Competent Labor Force
Gateway to the Middle East
Live It. Love It!

This conference is the World Economic Forum on the Middle East, held at the resort area by the Dead Sea. There are over 1,200 participants here, from over 50 countries. The participants include about ten heads of state or government, plus foreign ministers, treasury ministers, business leaders, clerics—the works. Mahmoud Abbas of the Palestinian Authority was scheduled to be here. But he had to stay home, to deal with the latest outbreak of fighting between Palestinian factions.

King Abdullah gives the opening address, and he stresses the

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need to find a solution for Palestinians. Conditions are desperately bad, he says, and these conditions "create radicalization." He has spearheaded what's called the Arab Peace Initiative, in which the 22 Arab governments call for a two-state solution. He also talks about the need to "prepare for the day after peace"—a day that has been too little thought of, he says. It must occur to many that peace would seem achievement enough, at this point.

The king also speaks broadly about the stagnation of the Arab world: About 325 million people live here, but standards of living are deplorable. He notes that, not so long ago, China and India were in a similar position: and they made "tough decisions to move forward," opening their economies, accepting globalization. Why can't Arabs do the same, and even better? He further notes that, of the 325 million Arabs, over 200 million are under the age of 24—a shocking and portentous fact. If they are denied opportunity, what are they going to do with their lives, besides emigrate, despair, or lash out?

The Jordanian royals at the World Economic Forum on the Middle East

Abdullah studied in both the United States and Britain, and his English is a mixture of those two spheres: Mainly, it is American, the kind that would not be out of place in Peoria. Occasionally, it is British: as when he says "demahnd" or "advahntage." In my observation, he is a very confident fellow, in the way he talks, walks, and interacts. (A king really ought to be confident, true, although sometimes the head lies uneasy.) I don't imagine he'll ever have to do much campaigning. But, if he did, he would be good at it.

He and Queen Rania cap the opening day with a dinner under a huge, white, royal tent, which must be the best-air-conditioned tent in the world. This soirée concludes with an ebullient concert by Lionel Richie, apparently a favorite of Their Majesties, as of whom not?

ARABIAN REAGANISM

During the conference at large, you hear a lot of what Clare Boothe Luce called "globaloney." The words can go by narcotizingly: "root causes," "paradigms," zzzz. But much that is fresh and exciting is said—for example, on the subject of education. Khaldoon al-Mubarak, a CEO from the UAE, and not to be confused with Egypt's boss, speaks for many. He says that education must be "diversified," in part because the present system is not meeting the needs of the private sector. This is practically a refrain of the conference: Arab schools may be preparing functionaries for the public sector, but these jobs are full to overflowing. The private sector needs young people who are equipped to perform new tasks.

Mubarak further says that some textbooks are outrageous. In math, for example, fourth-graders read, "If you have five Muslims facing four infidels . . ." What is such a question doing in a fourth-grade math book? Moreover, the exclusion of girls from schools is a "great weakness" of Arab education, says Mubarak.

He points out that governments can't make needed changes all by themselves: Private groups and individuals must take the initiative. He boasts of the number of schools that have been privatized, and calls for yet more privatization: more innovation, more imagination, more flexibility—much higher standards. Frankly, Khaldoon al-Mubarak, in his flowing Gulf robes and headdress, sounds like Bill Bennett, Lynne Cheney, and other Reaganauts in the 1980s.

And many, many participants talk about the need for meritocracy in the Middle East. A second executive from the UAE, Saeed al-Muntafiq, envisions a system in which "what you can do determines what you get—not what your name is, what family you come from." He says that, because of nepotism, stratification, and exclusion, "we Arabs are lacking behind"—a perfect mistake of language, perfectly illustrating a major problem.

In addition, people talk about an obstacle to entrepreneurship in the Arab world: fear of failure, an unwillingness to fail. "We must do more to promote failure," says one speaker, and she means it: It is no joke. "In Silicon Valley, failure is a badge of experience." You fall on your face a couple of times—or eight times—and eventually you get it right. Failure is indispensable to entrepreneurship, to experimentation, to economic flourishing. And yet the longstanding shame-honor calculus of the Arab world militates against that: Failure is a shame, or stain, not a learning experience, a prelude to success. That is, with time, to be overcome.

UNDER FIRE

Appearing on a power panel is Hamid Karzai, the president of Afghanistan. As usual, he is the chicest guy in town—his cape happens to be green, on this occasion. And he begins his remarks in praise of "foreign intervention": "Foreign intervention brought us freedom from an extremist occupation, from terrorism, from brutal, obscurantist rule." It brought the return of refugees from abroad, the return of women to visible life, an infinitely improved economy. There are many "positive developments," says Karzai. But on the negative side? "The Afghan people are still suffering attacks by terrorists." Freedom from terrorism has not been completely achieved.

And Afghanistan will go down the tubes, says Karzai, without

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"the international community" and "the cooperation of the neighbors."

Glancing back at history, Karzai says that "the Karmalites"—the Afghan Communists—"and the Soviets imposed an alien thought on a deeply believing Muslim people, and a traditional people." And "we used the other extreme to fight the Soviets," thereafter getting stuck with "the regional plague"—namely, Islamism. That is a striking and memorable phrase: "the regional plague." In Karzai's telling, Afghanistan was forgotten by the world "until New York was struck."

The international community now has a choice, he says: It can continue to help Afghanistan, or it can turn its back once more. And if the Americans and their partners "leave before their time, Afghanistan will suffer," and so, reverberatingly, will the region and world.

Asked whether these same ideas apply to Iraq, Karzai is somewhat cagey, even apprehensive, claiming that Iraq is different. He has his own country to think about. But you sense that, despite his caginess and apprehensiveness, he believes that Iraq is not so different as that. Another regional leader will say to an American later in the conference, "The thing is, if you leave Iraq too soon, you may find that you have to come back."

On the panel with Karzai is the prime minister of Pakistan, Shaukat Aziz. He is a big modernizer, liberalizer, and reformer, an ex-vice president of Citibank in New York. I have always thought he looks much like Zubin Mehta, the conductor. In the course of his remarks, Aziz says that "the single most important issue" is the Palestinian problem. The unfreedom of the Palestinians is "the core of instability." Naturally, this wins great applause. And at least twice, Aziz makes reference to the "umma": the community of Muslims around the world. The Israeli occupation, he says, vexes and harms the entire "umma."

Figures: The slickest, most Westernized guy in the room—the New York banker—has to out-Muslim them all.

Prince Turki, too, is here, the Saudi who headed his country's intelligence service, and later went to the U.S. as ambassador. Like Aziz, he wins great applause—by saying that Arabs and Muslims should stop killing one another and start concentrating on their enemies. I want to ask, although I don't have the chance, "Who are your enemies?" Some minutes later, Turki says that Palestinians should eschew violence and "follow the Gandhi method." Then, "you'll get everything you want."

An amazing statement, from that renowned pacifist HRH Prince Turki al-Faisal al-Saud, master of the Mukhabarat.

Drawing much attention, on this panel and elsewhere, is Manouchehr Mottaki. He is foreign minister of the country that is fast becoming the regional hegemon and might soon become a nuclear power. This is the gentleman, you may recall, who earlier this month walked out of a diplomatic dinner in Sharm El Sheikh because he deemed the lady violinist who was performing indecently clad. I see no such violinist by the Dead Sea to entice or bother him.

Indeed, a good many of the ladies are wrapped. Although the Royal Jordanian Airlines stewardesses, serving as conference-center ushers, are pretty hot stuff.

Mottaki uses his time to inveigh against Israel, the "illegal, illegitimate regime" that is the source of all the Middle East's, if not the world's, woes. (Needless to say, there is no Israeli on this panel devoted largely to the Palestinian problem. And Israelis at the conference in general are thin on the ground.) Mottaki and his government basically reject the Arab Peace Initiative, and they reject any two-state solution at all. This earns him some rebukes from Palestinians, over the three days of the conference: They wonder why they should not be allowed to make their own choice, to determine their own destiny. A refusal to recognize Israel's right to exist has won Palestinians exactly nothing for six decades.

Sitting with Karzai, Aziz, et al., Mottaki praises the American electorate for repudiating George W. Bush's Iraq policies in 2006. He also praises the Baker-Hamilton report on the war, chiding Bush for not heeding it.

As the conference continues, Mottaki performs with increasing kookiness and hatefulness. On the subject of Jews, nukes—he is a piece of work, in harmony with his government. He talks a lot about "morality" and "immorality." The Americans and Israelis are "immoral," humiliating and killing Muslims everywhere. It is not easy to take lectures on morality from the representative of a regime that stones girls for the crime of having been gang-raped.

FREE-FLOWING DEBATE

But Manouchehr Mottaki is essentially an aberration at the World Economic Forum on the Middle East. Mostly, these are people who are honestly and sanely seeking answers to problems. One of the criticisms that many of us have had for years is that Arabs and Muslims will not wrestle with their own problems, preferring to deflect: preferring to blame Israel and the U.S. for the fall of every sparrow. But there is relatively little deflection here. A debate is staged, and it is aired live by al-Arabiya. The topic: "Is the Arab World Betraying Its Youth?" As the moderator explains, unemployment is very high, and hopes are very low. Young people are delaying marriage, having no means of supporting families. They are flocking to embassies, trying to obtain visas—emigration seems the only way out.

The audience is stocked with young people, brought in specially for the occasion. They air their grievances, condemning their governments and elders with something like joyous abandon. On the panel sits Amr Moussa, secretary-general of the Arab League. Normally he is gruff, blustery, and defiant. Al-Arabiya's moderator is extremely tough on him—and he takes it like a lamb. Another panelist confesses that, if he were a young person, without opportunity and without hope, "I would either emigrate or join a terrorist group." No one seems surprised by this. And the discussion continues free-flowingly and frankly.

Such discussion is music to the ears of all who hope for change throughout the Arab world—change that is occurring even now, if only in fits and starts. Riz Khan, a personality from al-Jazeera, has earlier told a joke: "A man goes to the doctor, and the doctor gives him six months to live. When the man can't pay his bill, the doctor gives him another six months." The point is, though the end can seem nigh, there is always another chance, a chance to reform and live better. What will the 325 million Arabs do? As you don't need to be told, this is a burning question of our age. **NR**

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■ ESSAY

Forty Junes Ago

The Six Day War marked a terrible turn

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

THE Six Day War that broke out on June 5, 1967, just 40 years ago, appeared at the time to be another episode in the ongoing Cold War, alarming but not quite so fraught as the Cuban Missile Crisis five years previously. Out of the blue that April, the Soviet Union accused Israel of mobilizing for an invasion of Syria. There was no truth in the accusation, but Soviet officials, including embassy staff on the spot in Israel, persisted. The lie had the long-term effect of shifting the political scene internationally, leaving the Arab–Israeli conflict virtually insoluble, and dividing Muslims from non-Muslims, and Left from Right everywhere. Here is one of the taproots of the anti-Americanism and anti-Semitism that now nourish Islamist terror in the wider world.

The Soviets at the time had the imperialist aim of extending their influence in the Middle East through the financing and arming of Arab nationalist movements. Brezhnev and Kosygin in the Kremlin thought of themselves as realists rather than adventurers. The leading Arab nationalist of the day was Gamal Abdel Nasser, who had seized the presidency of Egypt following a coup in 1952. Potentially an Arab Fidel Castro, he had reduced his country to an Arab version of a Soviet police state. Syria similarly staked its place in the Soviet orbit.

In the weeks following the Soviet lie, Nasser advanced from one bellicose step to the next, blocking Israel by closing its shipping lanes, and moving his forces into the demilitarized Sinai Desert where they confronted Israel from the south. Syria mobilized simultaneously on Israel's northern border. King Hussein of Jordan had long been the ideological opponent of Nasser, but he flew hurriedly to Cairo, to commit his army on Israel's eastern border. If the Israelis chose to break out of this encirclement by attacking, "ahlan wa-sahlan," Nasser said, infusing the traditional Arab greeting of "welcome" with his special brand of mockery and menace. Field Marshal Abdel Hakim Amer, Nasser's colleague and rival at the head of the Egyptian armed forces, boasted, "Soon we'll be able to take the initiative and rid ourselves of Israel once and for all." The Arab world exulted at the prospect.

In the post-1945 years, the Holocaust had been an issue of conscience for Europeans. For the Left in particular, the founding of Israel was a repudiation of Nazism and an honorable act of reparation and justice. The word "Auschwitz" triggered the reflex reaction "never again." A second holocaust was now in preparation. As the crisis mounted throughout that spring of 1967, a wave of sympathy and fear for Israel swept the West.

Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor. Among his many books are *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs* and *Betrayal: France, the Arabs, and the Jews*.

Numerous accounts from politicians, diplomats, and soldiers have depicted in detail the panic and hesitancy that afflicted the Israeli leadership in this predicament. Politics for the elderly prime minister, Levi Eshkol, was a matter of negotiation, not war. The chief of staff, Yitzhak Rabin, suffered a nervous collapse. After the event, figures like Moshe Dayan, the minister of defense, and Abba Eban, the foreign minister, assumed an air of bravado, but that was embellishing the record. Almost instinctively, the Israeli government appealed to the United States to enforce international law and keep the peace. President Johnson liked to describe himself in warm language as a friend of Israel. Concrete help, however, was not forthcoming. Already immersed in the Vietnam War, he pleaded that Congress and the United Nations between them limited his freedom of action. He urged restraint. Israel was no doubt the victim of aggression, but nonetheless should not strike first. His secretary of state, Dean Rusk, argued that Israel had an "apocalyptic psychology," and at all costs should resist taking armed action. "Someone is making a major miscalculation," Rusk held, without asking whether that someone might not be himself or the president.

Only eleven years earlier, Britain and France had been Israel's allies in the Suez campaign. Professing warm friendship in his turn, British prime minister Harold Wilson nonetheless backed away by passing responsibility for Israel's security on to Washington. In the Elysée in Paris, and immeasurably lofty, General de Gaulle ordered Israel not to be the first to shoot. Discouragingly, he adopted the third person when speaking to the perturbed Israeli ambassador: "If you were attacked, one wouldn't let you be destroyed."

The Israeli leadership reluctantly came to the conclusion that they could expect nothing from others. To save itself, Israel would have to act alone. The atmosphere had become very tense. In my hotel in Tel Aviv was a well-known writer who told me that he had attended a briefing at which men with the rank of general concluded that the major powers were condemning the Jewish state not to defend itself, and wept openly. The great pianist Artur Rubinstein made a documentary in which he said that he had come to Israel to share the fate of his fellow Jews, and I heard the audience in the movie house sobbing.

FATEFUL STRIKES

On the first morning of the war, it was eerie to be a war correspondent in an empty Tel Aviv and to hear the air-raid siren, a sound from my childhood, when German bombers had been overhead. That morning, the Israeli air force performed a feat that staff colleges still analyze with admiration. In his masterly book, *Six Days of War*, Michael B. Oren records that, within a period of about three hours, 286 of the 420 Egyptian combat planes were destroyed, mostly on the ground, along with airfields and radar sites. Israeli victory was thus a certainty. Nasser's heroics had been a fatal mixture of overconfidence, acquiescence to the demands of Arab honor, and credulity about Soviet good intentions.

At the same moment, the Israeli government was warning King Hussein through several channels to preserve the status quo by staying out of military action, but Nasser pretended to the king that the Egyptians were winning decisive victories on land and in the air. In the light of this deception, the king gave orders to shell Israeli Jerusalem, and engaged his army in battle. This was a

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historic misjudgment. The Israeli army quickly captured Arab Jerusalem and then the entire West Bank, hitherto incorporated into Jordan. Nasser further persuaded the king to concoct an alibi for the Arabs' summary defeat by means of a joint announcement that "American and British airplanes are taking part against us from aircraft carriers." Israeli technicians were able to record and publicize the telephone communications of the two Arab leaders. An angered President Johnson was to call this "the Big Lie."

To the end of his life, the king was embarrassed that the world could see how he had let himself be cheated, and he was further humiliated by awareness that his mistaken decisions had lost him half his kingdom and doomed the bulk of the Palestinian population to live under Israeli occupation for the foreseeable future.

About 100,000 Palestinians preferred to flee to the East Bank, to Jordan. I witnessed the capture of Arab Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Most houses were flying makeshift white flags. In villages and refugee camps established from previous fighting, an exodus was underway, and I went down to the Allenby Bridge and crossed the river to try to make sense of it. Fear did not seem the motivation. These people had not seen a single Israeli soldier, but whole families, with grandparents and babies, were nonetheless abandoning their homes. Something in the culture more powerful than either self-interest or common sense was at work.

The reversal of public opinion was instantaneous. The very people who only a few days before had been trembling at the specter of another holocaust were now blackening Israel as Hitlerite, colonialist, imperialist, and an American outpost. Quite typically, the philosopher and veteran Soviet apologist Jean-Paul Sartre had supported Israel before the war only to condemn it afterwards. Confronted with the contradiction, he is supposed to have said, "But they assured me that Israel would lose." This may be apocryphal, but it catches the emotional conditioning that led to nothing less than an imposed reordering of reality.

Immensely relieved at their victory, Israelis expected the sort of negotiations that historically have concluded all wars. Dayan made headlines when he declared that he was expecting a telephone call. The concept of trading land for peace was born, as though territory were the sole issue. This is a Western idea, however, and in the Arab culture any such tradeoff looks like an admission of defeat, therefore shameful, therefore unacceptable and to be resisted. David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, was in rather frustrated retirement by 1967, and almost nobody listened to his advice to hand the West Bank and Gaza back to the Palestinians without receiving any concession in return. Were the Arabs really to be allowed to go on a war of extermination and pay no price for it?

The Six Day War revealed that Arab nationalism was a mutant of traditional absolutism, politicized and dressed in khaki.

The Six Day War revealed that Arab nationalism was not a genuine modernizing force, but a mutant of traditional absolutism, politicized and dressed in khaki. The army of an absolute society is no match for a citizens' army. Trenches full of dead Egyptians and Syrians in the Sinai and the Golan proved that they could be brave soldiers. But officers at all ranks had been commissioned for their social status and connections rather than for professional skill or commitment, and at the first shot they had gone home to protect their careers. At Kantara on the Suez Canal, I watched the Egyptian soldiers returning. A doctor was in charge of a register, but they could sign their names only with a thumbprint. On the far bank, Egyptian officers were sitting within a fortified enclave on deck-chairs, enjoying iced drinks, while outside the barbed wire mothers in their thousands were demonstrating and shrieking as they waited for their sons. The reason the Arabs had lost was to be found in the culture that gave rise to such a scene.

The Soviets were quick to perceive that the defeat of their clients rebounded disastrously on them. Nasser and Arab nationalism had let them down in full view of the world. In an immediate strategy of recovery, Soviet commentators launched a coordinated campaign to blacken Israel as another Nazi Germany. The Soviet Union and dependent Communist parties controlled something like a thousand media outlets across the world, and this gigantic propaganda apparatus now spread false accusations of Israeli atrocities and torture, while cartoons depicted the likes of Eshkol and Dayan as Hitler, or twisted the Star of David into a swastika.

Down the years, Palestinian leaders—including the old notables and PLO upstarts like Yasser Arafat and now Mahmoud Abbas—have been pressing ever more insistently that the occupation must end, as though there had been no Arab aggression, no Six Day War. Palestinians and Israelis are each demanding of the other the outcome dictated by their respective cultures, and nobody has been able to bridge the unbridgeable. So the occupation of the Palestinian areas has frozen into a stalemate that few anticipated, with one extreme thinking it right to build settlements and the other extreme thinking it right to practice terror.

Out of the wreckage of Arab nationalism, the Arab and Muslim world has renewed itself in the way it so often has, by turning back to its historic social model. The Islamism of the Iranian Revolution, and Saudi Wahhabism and al-Qaeda, are yet more mutants of absolutism, again politicized but this time dressed in robes and a turban. The culture pressures them equally to reject reality. In common with the nationalists before them, the Islamists imagine that they have only to take the initiative and they will be rid of Israel once and for all. Officials and clerics regularly compare Israel to Nazi Germany and call for another holocaust. The Arab and Muslim street, and astonishingly large parts of the Left in the West as well, believe that the Jews escape their deserved fate only because they are in some secret alliance with the United States against Muslims. The Big Lie of 1967 has proved to possess a lasting malignancy all its own. Nasser and the Soviet Union are no more, but everyone still has to pay for the legacy they bequeathed to the Middle East. **NR**

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the long view

ROB LONG

¡Hola! Hello! Welcome to the new Immigration and Naturalization Telephone Customer-Care Center! Open seven days a week, 24 hours a day—just like the border itself! Welcome! We're pleased to be able to help you.

Para español, oprima el numero dos.

For English, please press one.

For all other languages, please visit us online at www.homelandsecurity.gov/slowtrack.

Please note that the Office of Border Control, in consultation with the Department of Homeland Security, has instituted new border procedures for all persons crossing the U.S.–Mexico border. Please note that visas, passports, and any form of identification are *no longer* required for transit. However, any liquids or gels must be in containers of three ounces or less, or will be confiscated by the Border Welcome Services.

If you have questions about the McCain-Kennedy-Pelosi-Bush Immigration Act of 2008, please press one, or visit us on the web at www.homelandsecurity.gov/relaxand makeyourselfcomfortable/frequentlyaskedquestions. There you'll find the latest information about all of our Welcome! Bienvenidos! Programs™ and hear about the latest deals, offers, and special discounts available exclusively to the Undocumented community.

If you have questions about your immigration status, press two.

If you have questions about the Amnesty Plus™ package and your Gold Medallion points, press three.

If you have questions about your back taxes, guest-worker certificate, or any other issues not related to the Amnesty Plus™ package, or to sign up for the Amnesty Plus™, Amnesty Platinum™, or Amnesty Star Alliance™ program, please press four.

Thank you!

If you have questions about your guest-worker status, press one.

Thank you! To help us respond to your question, please enter your nine-digit Amnesty Plus™ number, followed by the pound sign.

Thank you!

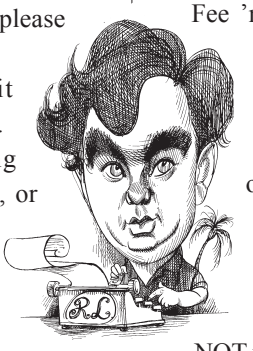
You guest-worker status is granted. Please continue to work as our guest. You have . . .

THREE

. . . years left on your guest-worker Amnesty Plus™ package. To purchase more tie, or to hear about another account, please press one. To inquire about back taxes, fees, and fines, please press two.

Thank you! Please wait while we access your records.

Thank you for inquiring about your back taxes, fees, or fines. Our records indicate that you are eligible for our Fee 'n' Fine™ program, a provision of the McCain-Kennedy-Pelosi-Bush Act, which permanently waives all fees and fines associated with undocumented entrance into the United States. The Fee 'n' Fine™ program is available ONLY for undocumented immigrants who have resided in the United States illegally since 1986. All documented and legal immigrants MUST pay all fees and fines. All undocumented and/or formerly illegal immigrants are eligible to participate in the Fee 'n' Fine™ program. To sign up for the Fee 'n' Fine™ program, you must provide two (2) pieces of documentation (either a note from a cash-only employer or an arrest record) certifying that you have resided in the United States illegally. If you are a Resident Alien, Student Visa holder, or Documented Alien you ARE NOT eligible for the Fee 'n' Fine™ program, and are responsible for all fees and fines.



Your back taxes have been calculated at . . .

SIX. TEEN. THOUSAND. AND. EIGHT. HUNDRED. DOLLARS.

To receive a permanent exemption from all back taxes, press one. To continue to owe back taxes, press two.

Thank you! You have chosen to . . .

BE. EXEMPT.

. . . from all back taxes. Congratulations! Your exempt status has been registered. Please continue to work as before, secure in the knowledge that you are exempt from back taxes and all fees and fines. Please note that Immigration and Customs Enforcement, in consultation with the Department of Homeland Security, strongly advises AGAINST discussing your exempt status, the Fee 'n' Fine™ program, Amnesty Plus™, or Amnesty Gold Medallion™ features and amenities with any United States citizen (normal grade) or documented alien. These programs are designed especially for the undocumented-alien community, and the features and amenities are NOT transferable.

To sign up another friend, family member, or recent undocumented arrival, please press one. To pre-register a friend, family member, or anticipated undocumented arrival using the automated Pre-Arrival Amnesty FastPass™, please press two. To end this call, please press three.

Thank you!

Thank you for using the new Immigration and Naturalization Telephone Customer-Care Center, brought to you by the Department of Homeland Security! We want to welcome you to this country and hope to be able to serve you again soon!

Customer Care is important to us. Please stay on the line and participate in a Customer-Satisfaction Survey. Your participation will help us serve others in the Amnesty Plus™ and Amnesty Gold Medallion™ programs.

GOOD. BYE.

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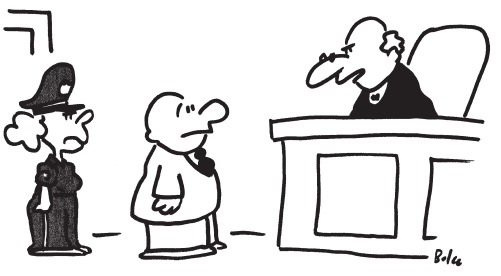
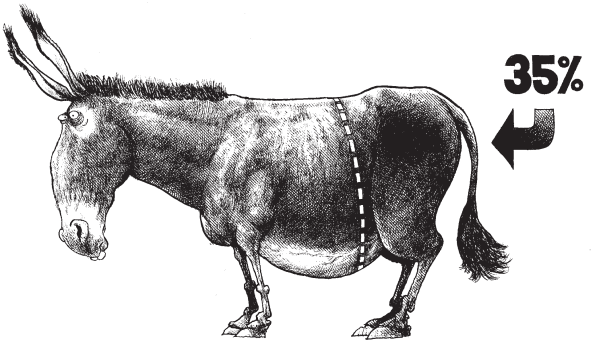
No, Never

Was there ever such a Speaker?
For that matter, who has seen—
Ever—such a Senate Leader?
One returns to Halloween
When black cats, unnerved in alleys,
Give in to distressed meows.
Get a grip on, Nancy, Harry!
How about a few bow-wows?

—W. H. von Dreele



"Is that true?—
Did you make the officer cry?"



RASMUSSEN POLL: 35% OF DEMOCRATS BELIEVE BUSH KNEW ABOUT THE 9/11 ATTACKS IN ADVANCE.

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THE WORM

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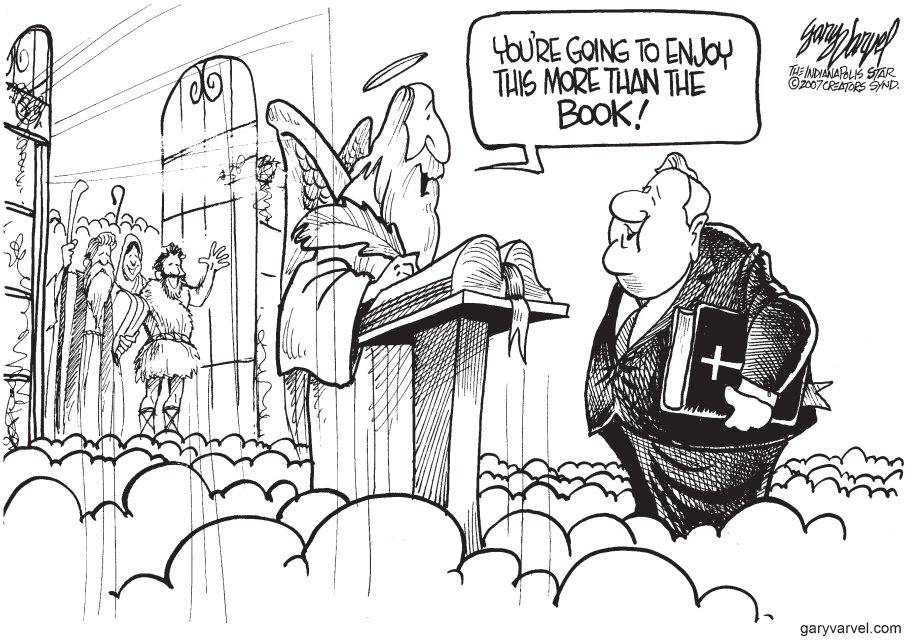

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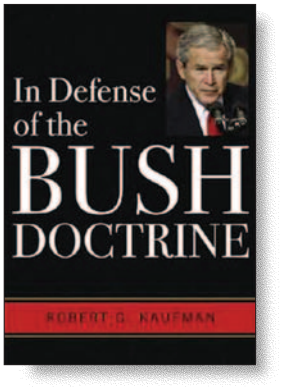
In the Tradition



In Defense of the Bush Doctrine,
by Robert G. Kaufman
(Kentucky, 264 pp., $35)

MACKUBIN THOMAS OWENS

When he was elected president in 2000, George W. Bush gave every indication that he, like his father before him, was a conventional "realist" in foreign affairs: committed to a grand strategy of selective engagement, and critical of the open-ended nature of the Clinton doctrine and its indiscriminate use of military force in instances not involving vital national interests. In his speeches, Bush stressed foreign-policy retrenchment and military "transformation" in preparation for the emergence of a future large peer competitor in the vein of the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Neither Bush nor his advisers, most notably national security adviser Condoleezza Rice and secretary of state Colin Powell, spoke of spreading democracy throughout the world.

Then came 9/11. To the surprise of almost everyone, the president abandoned his realism and embraced an approach to foreign affairs that seems to be nothing short of revolutionary. The seeds of the "Bush Doctrine" were sown in a speech he delivered on September 20, 2001, only nine days after the attacks; the ideas were then refined and elaborated in subsequent speeches.

To say that the Bush Doctrine has been criticized is an understatement. It has been an object of scorn across the political spectrum, blamed for everything from the Iraq War to anti-Americanism in Europe. But now Robert Kaufman, professor of public policy at Pepperdine University, has stepped into the breach to defend the Bush Doctrine—and to defend it quite ably. In this excellent new book, Kaufman describes the Bush approach to foreign policy as the latest example of what he calls "moral democratic realism," an approach he attributes to FDR, Truman, and Reagan as well.

According to Kaufman, the Bush Doctrine is based on two main pillars. The first is that the events of 9/11 demonstrate that the traditional approaches to threats—deterrence, containment, and ex post facto responses—are inadequate when dealing with terrorists and rogue regimes seeking to acquire weapons of mass destruction. This means that it is prudent to reserve the right to use force preemptively rather than reactively.

The second pillar is the judgment that the "root cause" of 9/11 and similar aggression is (in Kaufman's paraphrase of Bush) "the culture of tyranny in the Middle East, which spawns fanatical, aggressive, secular and religious despotisms." The remedy for this is democratic regime change.

The first part of the book is devoted to thoughtful and detailed critiques of the foreign-policy approaches of Bush's critics: isolationism, classical realism, neorealism or "structural" realism, and liberal multilateralism. Kaufman argues that the isolationists largely misunderstand the intentions of the Founders—and that they are just plain wrong in claiming that isolationism is the default position of the U.S. when it comes to foreign affairs.

He is supported in this contention by a number of recent books. For instance, Max Boot has shown in *The Savage Wars of Peace* that, from the beginning of the Republic, Americans never shied away from the use of military power. In *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience*, John Lewis Gaddis showed that the statesmen of the early Republic, usually portrayed as desirous of avoiding foreign entanglements, were more than willing to engage in preventive war to defeat a threat before it became imminent. In his indispensable *Special Providence*, Walter Russell Mead identified four American "schools of foreign policy," some more interventionist than others, that have vied for dominance. And finally, in *Dangerous Nation*, Robert Kagan has driven a stake through the heart of the "pervasive myth of America as isolationist and passive until provoked."

Kaufman's critiques of classical and structural realism are also on the mark. For the realist, the state is the only important actor in the international arena and relative power the only meaningful goal. Classical realists such as Hans Morgenthau, Henry Kissinger, and Brent Scowcroft hold stability and order in the international arena to be the highest value. Kaufman contends—persuasively—that this leads them toward a moral

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USELESS MEDITATION

Because we are crass
utilitarians all
we accept & cherish
Crusoe's daybook of accounts

But what of Friday's
inscrutable
dark cry
at the core of creation
the fury & speech
of unknowable forms
like those lachrymose rock
faces on Easter Island
staring at Alpha Centauri

We fish plant & write
in our palm-thatched hut
hoping the universe
is what we construct

—RICHARD O'CONNELL

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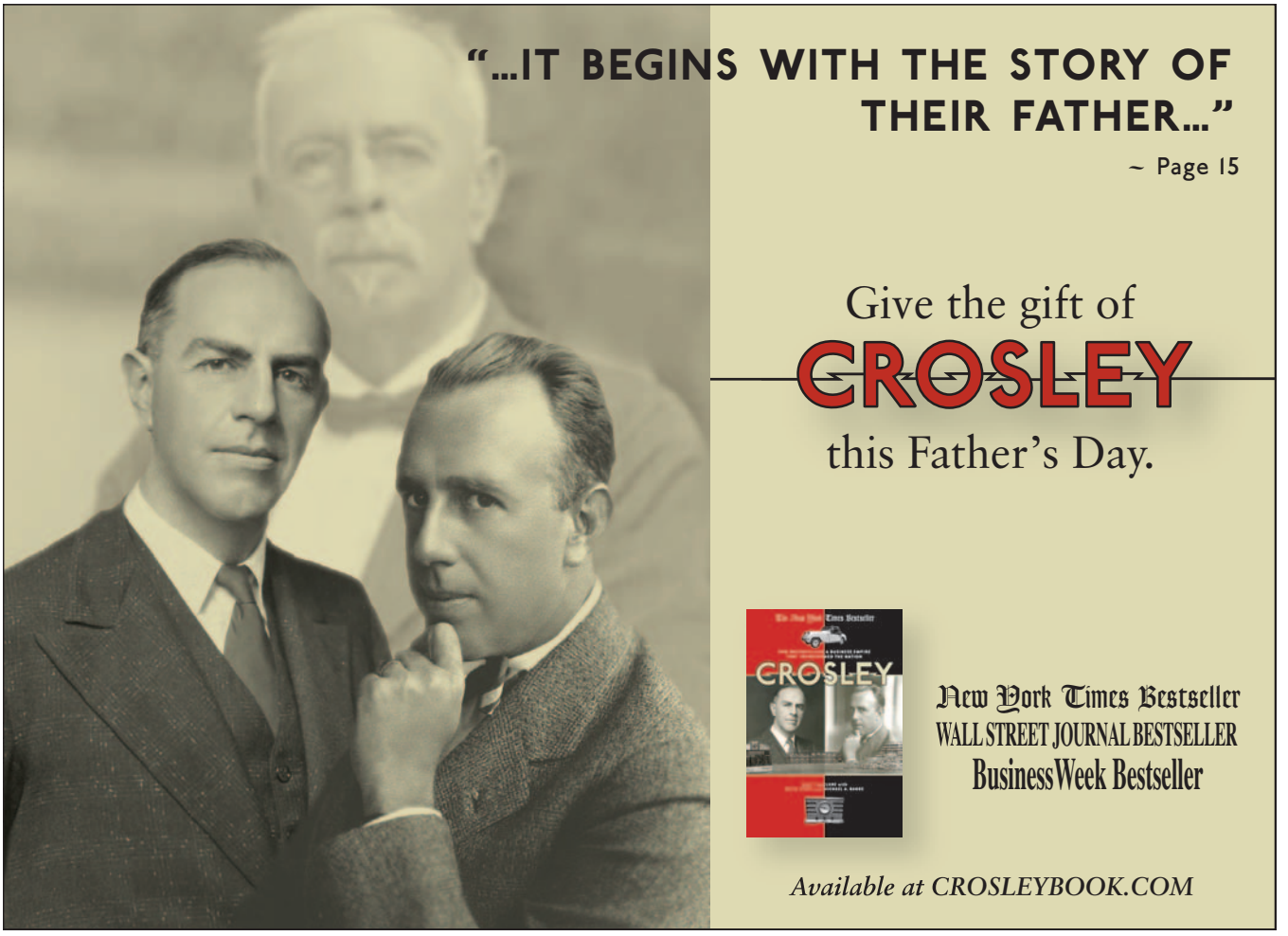
relativism that, as in the case of E. H. Carr before World War II, makes them "obtuse to the malignity and gravity of threats" to liberal democracies. Classical realists were at the forefront of those who criticized Reagan's reference to the Soviet Union as the "evil empire." For classical realists, such ideological language is an example of the "crusading spirit" that must be avoided at all times in the interest of peace and stability. Fortunately, Reagan ignored the advice of Scowcroft et al., and won the Cold War.

Most "structural realists"—also called neorealists—are to be found in the academy. They believe that the competitive character of international politics arises from the structure of the international political system (IPS)—which is to say, international anarchy. For the neorealists, the type of regime is unimportant: In the IPS, the actions of the United States are no different from those of Nazi Germany or the Soviet Union. This means, of course, that neorealists also reject the idea of the "democratic peace," which holds that stable liberal democracies do not fight one another.

In addition to illustrating the problems for neorealists arising from the same sort of moral equivalence that afflicts the classical realists, Kaufman demonstrates that the track record of neorealists when it comes to predicting outcomes is pretty dismal. Indeed, "the actual historical record demonstrates the opposite of what neorealism claims": Neorealists were caught flat-footed when the Soviet Union collapsed, their predictions about the post–Cold War future of Europe were wrong, and the dire consequences of the Bush Doctrine that realists have predicted have not come to pass (e.g., there has been no anti-hegemonic balancing, even of the "soft" variety). This suggests a serious intellectual weakness in the realist practice of dismissing the "regime question." In fact, not all states and statesmen behave essentially alike. As Kaufman observes, "regime type, ideology, and the propensities of individual leaders account for substantial variations in how states not only define their interests but pursue them."

Neorealism's main academic challenger is what Kaufman calls liberal multilateralism. Liberal multilateralists believe that the actors in the IPS can cooperate as well as compete. They contend that the goals of actors within the IPS transcend power and security; they also see an important role for actors in the IPS other than states, including international institutions such as the U.N. But, according to Kaufman, "liberal internationalists make the opposite mistake of realists by overestimating the influence of soft power, the effectiveness of international institutions, and the likelihood of even stable, liberal democracies generating a consensus on the need for undertaking strong, effective action against major threats."

According to Kaufman, the Bush Doctrine is well within the mainstream of a rich, deep tradition of American foreign policy. This "moral democratic realism" is based on two fundamental premises.



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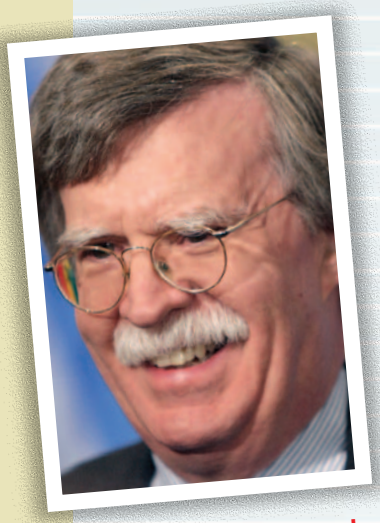
LAST CHANCE TO BOOK—TIME IS RUNNING OUT!



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Tues./July 31	Glacier Bay	10:00AM	4:00PM	morning seminar late-night poolside smoker
Wed./Aug. 1	Juneau, AK	7:00AM	8:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Thur./Aug. 2	Sitka, AK	8:00AM	5:00PM	late-night poolside smoker
Fri./Aug. 3	Ketchikan, AK	7:00AM	1:00PM	afternoon seminars evening cocktail reception
Sat./Aug. 4	Victoria, B.C.	6:00PM	Midnight	morning seminar afternoon seminar
Sun./Aug. 5	Seattle	7:00AM		

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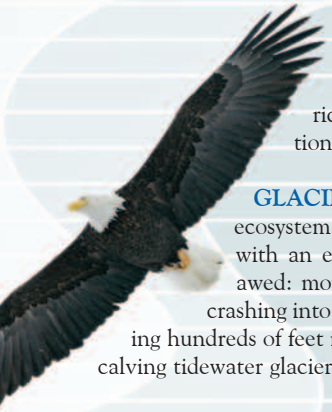

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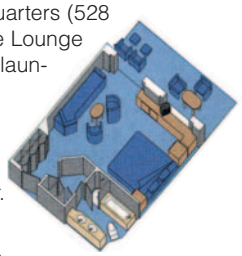

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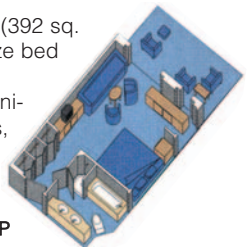

SOLD OUT

Category SS
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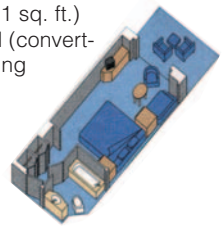

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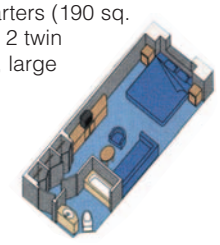

TWO LEFT!

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TWO LEFT!

Category K
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,299 P/P
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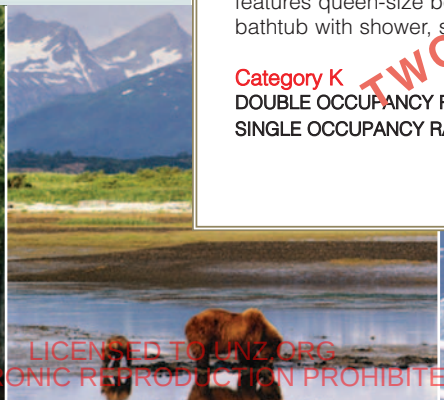

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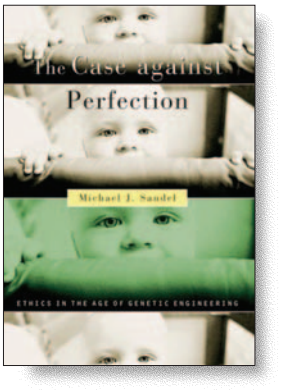
The first is that the goal of U.S. foreign policy, a purpose that has remained fixed since the Founding, is "to assure the integrity and vitality of a free society"—a society founded on the dignity of the individual.

The second premise is the cardinal virtue of prudence. Aristotle described prudence as deliberating well about those things that can be other than they are (i.e., means, as opposed to ends). According to Aristotle, prudence is the virtue most characteristic of the statesman. In foreign affairs, prudence requires the statesman to adapt universal principles to particular circumstances in order to arrive at the means that are best.

Is *In Defense of the Bush Doctrine* a "neoconservative" manifesto? Critics of Kaufman no doubt will claim that it is. After all, according to Francis Fukuyama, neoconservatives believe (as does Kaufman) that "the internal character of regimes matters," that "foreign policy must reflect the deepest values of liberal democratic societies," and that there are certain problems in the world that can be addressed "only through the prudent exercise of [American] power." But Kaufman argues that while there are similarities between moral democratic realism and neoconservative foreign policy—primarily the "higher realism" that understands that the spread of stable, liberal democracies is in the U.S. national interest—the former "imposes tighter geopolitical limits on the use of American power to promote democracy." Prudence is critical. Like Thucydides, Bush understands that the security of a state is enhanced when it is surrounded by others that share its principles and interests. But, as Kaufman shows, while the content of U.S. foreign policy is important, we cannot ignore the role of prudence.

Will the Bush Doctrine succeed? Kaufman is guardedly optimistic. But we need to understand that adherence to a particular theory is not in itself a guarantee of success. In the recent past, U.S. foreign policy has been informed by realism (Nixon) and liberal multilateralism (Carter), and both failed. The Bush Doctrine too will fail, if it is not applied with prudence and blessed with a certain amount of good fortune. **NR**

Far from Perfect



The Case against Perfection: Ethics in the Age of Genetic Engineering, by Michael J. Sandel (Harvard, 176 pp., $18.95)

RYAN T. ANDERSON

Advertisements offering $50,000 for Ivy League ova; an athlete running a three-minute mile; a deaf lesbian couple selecting a deaf sperm donor to produce a deaf child; "Viagra for the brain" to improve memory—these are just some of the scenarios that Michael Sandel asks us to consider in his new book *The Case against Perfection*.

He recognizes that most readers—while these prospects make them uncomfortable—aren't up to the task of explaining why: "When science moves faster than moral understanding, as it does today, men and women struggle to articulate their unease." He doesn't blame them, though; our "moral vertigo" is the fault of modern moral and political philosophers who have artificially narrowed their focus.

That insight is actually Sandel's most important contribution to bioethics discussions. He says professional bioethicists need to broaden their discourse: "The familiar categories of autonomy and rights, on the one hand, and the calculation of costs and benefits, on the other" are inadequate. Only by reintroducing ultimate questions about our purpose, nature, and fulfillment can we successfully evaluate the ethics of human enhancement. Sandel, of course, knows why these have been excluded: "Since these questions verge on theology, modern philosophers and political theorists tend to shrink from them. But our new powers of biotechnology make them unavoidable."

This isn't exactly a new criticism of the bioethics industry, but it is noteworthy for its source: Sandel is a popular Harvard government professor and a liberal Jewish former member of the President's Council on Bioethics—in other words, hardly a "Christian fundamentalist."

As Sandel explains, the trouble with the rights-talking Kantians and the consequence-weighing utilitarians is that they miss the big picture. All they can consider are equality, fairness, and safety: Will the benefits of biotechnology be equally available to all socioeconomic classes? If only some can afford enhancement, will it be fair for them to compete (athletically, economically, academically) against the unenhanced? Are new genetic therapies safe?

But these questions miss the point: Should we even aspire to these types of enhancement in the first place? Sandel moves beyond personal autonomy and distributive justice to consider what type of community biotechnology would foster: "The real question is whether we want to live in a society where parents feel compelled to spend a fortune to make perfectly healthy kids a few inches taller."

To broaden the discussion, he offers a thought experiment. Assuming that threats to equality, fairness, and safety could be resolved—including pro-life concerns—would bioengineering be a good idea? What goals should it serve?

Sandel proposes the "gifted" nature of life as the proper framework for answering that question. If life is a gift, then our primary attitude toward it should be one of gratitude, not mastery. "What we mean is simply that the talent in question is not wholly the athlete's or the musician's own doing; whether he has nature, fortune, or God to thank for it, the talent is an endowment that exceeds his control." Biotechnology threatens not so much our

Mr. Anderson is a junior fellow at *First Things*. He is also the assistant director of the Program in Bioethics and Human Dignity at the Witherspoon Institute in Princeton, N.J.

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rights as our attitudes toward ourselves and others, threatening to fundamentally change our "habit of mind and way of being."

Whereas pro-lifers object to sex-selective eugenic parenting because it kills innocent children, and feminists because it discriminates against girls, Sandel points to a broader objection: "It expresses and entrenches a certain stance toward the world—a stance of mastery and dominion that fails to appreciate the gifted character of human powers and achievements." Parents should welcome children as a gift and "accept them as they come, not as objects of our design, or products of our will, or instruments of our ambition." The phenomenon of "hyper-parenting" and the consulting group "IvyWise Kids," which gets children into elite *elementary* schools in Manhattan (the so-called "Baby Ivies"), are warning signs of this changing disposition toward children.

What else might a move away from "gift" and toward "mastery" entail? Sandel fears it would threaten social virtues. Humility would give way to hubris as we ceased to understand our talents as "gifts for which we are indebted" and started considering them "achievements for which we are responsible." Meanwhile, enhancement would force absolute responsibility on parents for shaping their child's genome, on athletes for their physique, and on scholars for their mental prowess. What room would there be for solidarity? If everyone had a radical ability to be the "self-made man," would "the successful owe anything to the least advantaged members of society?"

And, as Sandel is quick to point out, genetic enhancement can't remain a voluntary commodity. "Today when a basketball player misses a rebound, his coach can blame him for being out of position. Tomorrow the coach may blame him for being too short." No one will be "free to escape the burden of choice that new technology creates."

But for all of the merits of Sandel's big-picture approach, it does both too much and too little. It rules out some enhancements that could authentically promote human flourishing while also failing to exclude some manifest affronts to human dignity. Worst of all, it's too vague to guide choices in concrete situations.

Perhaps this is why Sandel resorts to a different framework when he considers enhancement and athletics. Does the use of muscle-enhancing steroids or genetic therapy differ in *kind* or *degree* from protein shakes and energy bars? How do gloves and cleats differ from corked bats? To answer these questions Sandel refers to the difference between the excellence of the game and its deterioration into a spectacle. (Imagine if every baseball game were like the Home-Run Derby.) As he notes, "not all innovations in training and equipment corrupt the game."

But if this is true for baseball, why can't it apply to other human practices, and to life in general? The gifted character of life does little to show which innovations will deepen our authentic fulfillment and which will corrupt it. For this Sandel needs to supplement his theory with an account of human flourishing and its constitutive goods. Few argue that caffeine offends the gifted nature of life, and many argue that it helps the pursuit of knowledge, so why should we fear the "Viagra for the brain"? Provided a genetic enhancement will really help us flourish more fully, we should not reject it outright.

Lacking such an articulation of the goods that fulfill us, Sandel's theory remains incomplete. Bioengineering appears to present three challenges, each of which requires a robust account of the good: the prospect of offering illusory fulfillment—consider a mood enhancement that makes us feel as if we're enjoying friendship without helping us to make real friends; the prospect of reducing (or eliminating) human agency in the pursuit of happiness—consider an enhancement that causes actions apart from our willing; and the prospect of violating our intrinsic dignity—particularly the respect due to us in our origins.

The practical hurdle for bioengineering, of course, is the necessary experimentation on human subjects—especially human embryos. Until techniques can be perfected that do not pose undue risks to test subjects, bioengineering remains an unethical dream. But that's precisely why

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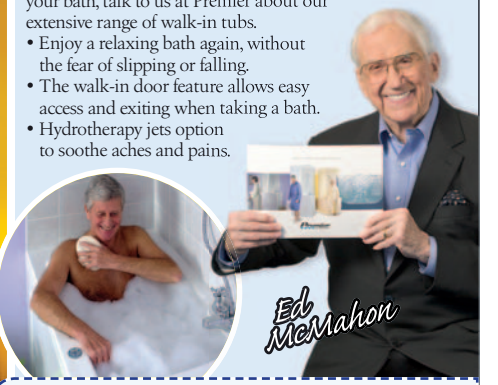

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Sandel's concluding chapter, "Embryo Ethics," is so disappointing. He starts off promisingly, admitting that "the fact that a moral belief may be rooted in religious conviction neither exempts it from challenge nor renders it incapable of rational defense." That is, pro-life objections to embryo destruction can be rationally engaged. But then he offers poorly paraphrased accounts and facile dismissals of those arguments. To show "that a blastocyst is a human being, or a person," he swiftly concludes, "requires further argument."

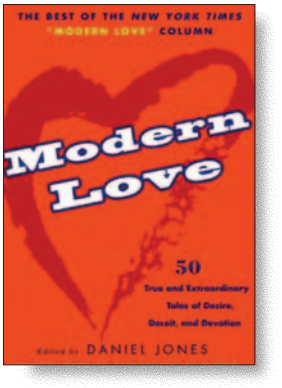
Yet Sandel thinks he has the conclusive answer, and so rehearses an argument he previously published: While "every oak tree was once an acorn, it does not follow that acorns are oak trees." Therefore: "Just as acorns are potential oaks, human embryos are potential human beings." The upshot is that while creating designer babies is "the ultimate expression of the hubris that marks the loss of reverence for life," embryo-destructive research "is a noble exercise of our human ingenuity."

Here Sandel's errors are grave. They are compounded by the fact that they had already been pointed out to him—both on the Council and in writing—by his colleague Robert George (my former boss and sometime co-author). George *has* provided a "further argument"—explaining why the blastocyst is as a matter of scientific fact a human being, and as a matter of ethical principle a bearer of inherent worth and dignity. But Sandel ignores this. George has also definitively refuted Sandel's fallacious analogy: He pointed out that acorn is to oak tree as embryo is to *adult*. Both the acorn and the tree are oaks, just at different developmental stages. So, too, an embryo and an adult are different stages of development of *the same human organism*.

To mischaracterize the opposition's arguments while ignoring powerful objections to one's own is intellectually embarrassing. Doing so to defend human-embryo destruction in a book proposing the gifted nature of human life is perverse.

Bottom line? Sandel has raised the right questions, but in the end he shrinks from providing the right answers. **NR**

It Has Its Reasons



Modern Love: 50 True and Extraordinary Tales of Desire, Deceit, and Devotion, edited by Daniel Jones (Three Rivers, 400 pp., $14.95)

SARAH BRAMWELL

One of my week's guilty pleasures is the "Modern Love" column appearing each Sunday in the *New York Times* "Styles" section. A first-person confession from a different writer each week, "Modern Love" offers two delights for the *schadenfroh* connoisseur: first, the unaffected egotism of the authors, who find their personal problems fascinating enough to merit exposure to the entire world; and second, genuinely atrocious writing. Just to give you an idea, one time a professor of creative writing (!) clued us in on just how interesting and open-minded she is with the line, "Some people might say I have a boundary problem." One will look in vain for a more perfect specimen of vapid psychobabble than "boundary problem": Having myself now used the phrase many times, I can attest that nothing stupefies an audience faster than, "You see, I think I may have a boundary problem." The more gravely the phrase is uttered, the more satisfying the results.

Evidently, I'm not alone in relishing "Modern Love": Its editor has collected 50 of its essays in a volume that he describes as a "literary time capsule" of love in a world of online dating, gay adoption, and Viagra. Having read the whole thing, I recommend sticking to the weekly column. Lightly diverting once a week, the columns when collected become simply depressing. Just as a nudist colony makes one thankful for clothes, so does *Modern Love* make one thankful for personal reticence. Most people stripped naked just aren't that attractive, whether inside or out.

The book does show that for everything that's new about "love in the new millennium," we're still stuck on the same merry-go-round. Longing, ecstasy, jealousy, decay, fury, loss are central to *Modern Love*, just as they have been central to pretty much everything ever written on the subject of love. What has changed is not so much the gadgetry (e-mail, blogging, text messaging) or even the brave-new-world medical advances (sperm banks, Viagra), but the authors' loss of any vocabulary to express themselves. In essay after essay, we get the same barren, bloodless mush: resolutions to "own your own decisions," warnings against getting into a "cycle of blame," ways to find "paths to completeness as a person," and, oh yes, counsels on what to do when you meet someone with a "boundary problem." (Perhaps I am one myself: I don't think I ever met a boundary I didn't like.)

This language is often called—following the late cultural critic Philip Rieff—"therapeutic." It has become so ubiquitous that it sometimes seems impossible to discuss life's most important matters—love, death, and suffering—in any other. It certainly was impossible for the contributors to *Modern Love*. The book is like a modern version of the Septuagint Bible, which, according to legend, was produced by 70 scholars who independently arrived at an identical translation. Miraculously, the 50 contributors to *Modern Love* all managed to write in the same voice.

Sarah Bramwell is a writer living in New York.

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Completely absent from their minds is any notion of love as a source of real conflict or danger. No spurned Didos immolating themselves here: Our therapeutic language assumes that love is in no way dangerous, destructive, or even erotic—which is to say, it pretty much assumes love out of existence. These authors—who, the editor promises, are "modern"—won't even see love as part of the cold, rational calculus of Darwinian competition; instead, they grimly chalk every setback to the parties' lack of emotional maturity.

Take, for example, Stephen, who is sexually involved with Angelina, who is married to someone else and dating both Stephen and another man named Tristan. This is now called polyamory and it sounds exciting. Indeed, it can hardly fail to be exciting; yet poor Stephen makes it out to be exceedingly banal. The whole *premise* of polyamorism is that love is per se harmless and risk-free. Let Stephen explain: "I see Angelina about four days a week, and on days when I don't see her we talk on the phone. She's negotiating with her husband to spend a night each week at my apartment. She'd like to see a situation where I come over for big family events, like Thanksgiving and New Year's." Stephen is wistful because he really likes Angelina and misses her when she's not around. But don't feel too sorry for him, because he definitely has options: "Recently a woman I've always liked, who lives in New York, confessed that she would like to tie me up the next time I was in town." Angelina at first says she'd be jealous, but after thinking it over decides that it would "probably even [be] good for us." Stephen doesn't tell us what happens next, but the editor of this compilation reports: "Five months after this essay appeared, Stephen and Angelina broke up. Then they got back together. Then they broke up again. Then they got back together before finally breaking up for good."

Polyamory sounds exciting. Indeed, it can hardly fail to be exciting; yet poor Stephen makes it out to be exceedingly banal.

Then there's the couple who wrestle with the idea of having children because the woman carries a gene for a serious disorder. In the course of exploring this painful decision, even this level-headed couple start to wonder whether a desire for children is a problem that they need to "work on": "Why don't we just adopt? This is an unsettling question because it points to what must be our selfishness. But the idea of creating a life from our two bodies seems to us a consummation of sorts. Maybe this means we need to work on our relationship—that we already, dangerously, see having children as a way of fulfilling something missing between us." Children completing a family? It's practically a thought crime!

The contributors also have a weird lack of curiosity about what the *best* form of love might be. If you want to know why right-thinking people are shocked that anyone would oppose gay marriage, it is not because they are so wedded to the cause of gay rights but because they cannot even wrap their minds around the idea that some loves might be better than others. Says Larry: "I still don't believe marriage is the only path to happiness or completeness as a person, but it's the right thing for us." Inspiring! But not quite as inspiring as his marriage proposal to his girlfriend: "I said . . . something about love and commitment and not going anywhere and here's these rings I got you, and if you want actually to make it official, that's cool, and if you don't, that's cool, too." There's no doubt the recipient of this passionless declaration deserved it.

Suspended incongruously in this slough of despond and self-absorption are a handful of good essays, mostly involving children. If you can slog through 350 pages of banality, you will find 15 or so pages of gut-wrenching essays about the sudden loss of a young child, a mother's suicide on her daughter's 16th birthday, and other variations on the theme of abandonment. There's nothing modern about those topics, of course. Is it a coincidence that they're the only essays worth reading in this collection? **NR**

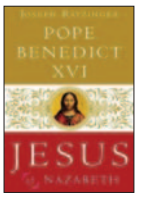
■ SHELF LIFE ■

Summer Reading

MICHAEL POTEMRA

It was already a bestseller before its appearance on bookstore shelves, but it would be a shame if ***Jesus of Nazareth*** (Doubleday, 374 pp., $24.95) ended up like a Stephen Hawking tome—more bought than read, and gathering dust on the coffee table. Joseph Ratzinger's intellectual reputation is certainly intimidating, but his first book as Pope Benedict XVI is (for the most part) written in a clear, reader-friendly style: He has read Jülicher and Schnackenburg, so we don't have to.

The book is an examination of Jesus's public ministry. (An anticipated second volume will tackle his birth and infancy, passion and resurrection.) The mission of Jesus's life, Ratzinger explains, is to reveal God to humanity: As God's Son, He shows us the face of God the Father, and brings mankind into closer relation with divine reality. The chapter on the Lord's Prayer stresses that the initiative in this drama comes from God's grace, not from man: "The Our Father does not project a human image onto heaven, but shows us from heaven—from Jesus—what we as human beings can and should be like."



The author displays his remarkable breadth of knowledge and sympathies, as he simultaneously engages with the details of modern scholarship and upholds in a convincing manner the basic reliability of the Bible.

■ Anthony Esolen, an accomplished Dante translator, is also an incisive literary

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critic. In his generous new book, ***Ironies of Faith: The Laughter at the Heart of Christian Literature*** (ISI, 350 pp., $28), he discusses great works from Shakespeare to Tolkien—and points out how the divine mysteries always end up being deeper than we think we know. The worldly-wise are confounded; strength is made perfect in weakness; eros becomes a vehicle of grace. "It is as Mauriac once said: We will be surprised to see not only the harlots and publicans enter before us, but even the persecutors and the atheists. Let us pray we will be in a position to enjoy the irony."

■ Victor Canto is one of the most prominent expositors of supply-side economics. He is also a talented market-watcher; in his new book ***Cocktail Economics: Discovering Investment Truths from Everyday Conversations*** (Financial Times, 336 pp., $24.99), he provides readers with big-picture advice on how to reap higher-than-average investment returns by understanding economic cycles.

■ In ***God Is Not Great: How Religion Poisons Everything*** (Twelve, 288 pp., $24.99), Christopher Hitchens demonstrates, with his customary panache, that religion poisons everything. There's only one conclusion reasonable people can draw: From now on, we must put our trust in God alone.

■ ***The Bad Catholic's Guide to Wine, Whiskey & Song: A Spirited Look at Catholic Life and Lore from Apocalypse to Zinfandel*** (Crossroad, 402 pp., $14.95) is even more fun than it sounds. One need not embrace the religious and political opinions of the authors—text, John Zmirak; recipes, Denise Matychowiak—to thoroughly enjoy this book. Among the potent insights: "Devout Guinness drinkers like to explain that *food is empty calories*—it gets you fat, but doesn't get you drunk." And: "If, as Walter Pater wrote, all art aspires to the condition of music"—here Zmirak adds, in a laconic footnote, "it doesn't"—"then all vodkas distill toward the flavor of moonshine."

■ Historian Lee Edwards has assembled an impressive reading list of 101 volumes in ***Reading the Right Books: A Guide for the Intelligent Conservative*** (Heritage, 151 pp., $7). (Disclosure: I was on the editorial advisory board for this book.) From old classics like *Witness* and *The Conservative Mind* to recent blockbusters like David Hackett Fischer's *Albion's Seed* and Jacques Barzun's *From Dawn to Decadence*, Edwards's list sets the table for an intellectual feast.

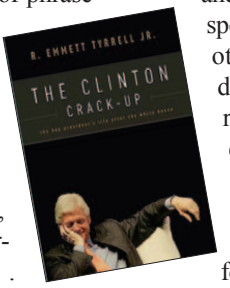
■ Kudos to St. Augustine's Press and the Dietrich von Hildebrand Legacy Project for their efforts to make the great philosopher-theologian's works more readily available. They have just released a new edition of his long-out-of-print ***The Heart: An Analysis of Human and Divine Affectivity*** (140 pp., $24). In this welcome corrective to arid intellectualism, von Hildebrand reminds us that "it is the heart that experiences happiness, and not the intellect or the will," and that we should resist "the ostracism of the affective sphere by Greek philosophy." **NR**

■ BOOKS IN BRIEF ■

The Clinton Crack-Up: The Boy President's Life After the White House, by R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr. (Thomas Nelson, 292 pp., $26.99)

THE political attack book can be quite artful: So R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr. has repeatedly proved, with his tomes assailing the larger-than-life personas of Bill and Hillary Clinton. In this, his fourth book on his favorite subjects, Tyrrell demonstrates that he has not lost his skills.

Certainly the most enjoyable parts of the book are the dashing turns of phrase the author sprinkles liberally throughout. He refers, for example, to the "ethical Renaissance that was the Clintons' 1990s"; to a "whoremonger from Macau" who gave generously to the Democratic party, and cavorted with Bill; to America's 42nd president "rutting . . . atop some dim tart."



The "goatishness" of "this irrepressible ham" and "hayseed huckster" has long provoked Tyrrell's ire. By stepping away from the realm of the purely political, the author has made his book all the more amusing: We learn of Clinton's cholesterol level, his modest success in dieting, a problem with his "anatomy," his Harlem headquarters's displacement of a child-protection agency's office space, his abandonment of the presidential canine Buddy, and "tirades and flying objects directed by [Hillary] at Bill's defenseless skull." (One such "sulphurous eruption" caused "the cook, Miss Emma, to lament, 'The devil's in that woman.'")

Despite a promised focus on Clinton's post-presidency, much of the book retells events that took place during his administration—the notorious "Pardongate," for example, especially Clinton's pardon of the fugitive Marc Rich; and Clinton's flagrant hypocrisy on China. (In 1992, he criticized Bush *père* for failing to challenge the PRC's human-rights record, but both in office and in his speaking engagements he has become China's trusty shill.)

Tyrrell's condemnations are not always on target. Sure, Clinton peddles his name and office nowadays for lucrative speaking fees—but this is nothing other former presidents haven't done. And the reader keen to reach more of Tyrrell's colorful excoriations may well mutter "so what?" when Tyrrell suddenly becomes earnest and complains about the dignity, for instance, of Clinton's conferral with aides in a bathroom.

But at least, the author reports, Bill is outwardly genial—going out of his way to chat with Tyrrell at a restaurant. Hillary, meanwhile, gives off "intimations of authoritarian ruthlessness." The truly cynical, merely tagging along for the wild ride of politics, might wish for a Hillary presidency given the promise she holds as an object of Tyrrell's ridicule. What with the GOP's current political troubles, perhaps Tyrrell should begin working on that fifth book now.

—TRAVIS KAVULLA

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■ FILM ■

Monster Mush

ROSS DOUTHAT

The first *Shrek* movie kicked off to the strains of Smash Mouth's "All Star," the worst hit song of 1999; *Shrek the Third*, the latest and lousiest installment in the saga, includes a cover of Heart's "Barracuda" performed by Fergie, a pillow-lipped chanteuse best known for her chart-topping single "My Humps," and perhaps for the humps themselves. Smash Mouth is more or less forgotten nowadays, and within five years I expect that Fergie will be as well. If there's any justice, by then the *Shrek* phenomenon will have joined them in the pop-culture dustbin, remembered only for being as rancid and calculated as anything foisted on the American family in recent memory.

If every culture gets the fairy tale it deserves, though, *Shrek* may be with us for a while yet. The story of the ogre who wins the beautiful princess (who turns out to be an ogre) gets laughs by upending fairy-tale convention—monsters are heroes; Prince Charming is a preening SOB; damsels-in-distress turn out to know kung fu—but it isn't a Monty-Pythonesque parody of the genre, tongue firmly planted in cheek throughout. Rather, it's a straightforward revision with comic flourishes, designed to flatter the prejudices of what a recent study suggests may be the most narcissistic generation of Americans in history, by imparting a moral—*be thyself*—that's as old as Polonius and as new as *The Secret*, and as brainless as both.

Traditional fairy tales are usually about turning into someone else, about the power of transformation in human life, for good and ill. So princes become frogs and swans and beasts and then princes again; maidens pass from life into sleeping death and back; youngest sons prove themselves worthy of kingdoms and despised serving girls make their way to royal balls. And the transformations these tales depict are demanded of their audience as well: A great fairy story initiates a child into the mysteries of adulthood, shadowing its enchanted landscapes with intimations of sexuality and mortality; adults, meanwhile, are tugged back toward childhood and the sense of wonder that comes with it, before habit and care made the remarkable fact of existence seem commonplace. As G. K. Chesterton once put it, "These tales say that apples were golden only to refresh the forgotten moment when we found that they were green. They make rivers run with wine only to make us remember, for one wild moment, that they run with water."

DREAMWORKS

Walt Disney's adaptations tamed and commercialized the fairy tale, but wisely left this essential dynamic intact. The *Shrek* movies, by contrast, turn it on its head: They offer something to adults and kids alike, but instead of introducing children to mature themes and reminding grown-ups of childhood's advantages, they leave both the way they found them and encourage the worst tendencies of each. Just as *Shrek*'s ogre hero is celebrated for staying exactly as he is—ugly, smelly, clumsy, and uncouth—so the audience is flattered rather than challenged at every opportunity. The kids get slapstick, wisecracking animals, and potty humor, because, hey, that's all that kids are capable of appreciating; the parents get pop-culture shout-outs and the occasional smirking innuendo, the better to make them feel smarter and more knowing than their children. In the latest installment, this means a projectile-vomiting baby ogre and a gingerbread man who defecates frosting, for younger viewers; the adults, meanwhile, are served up Merlin as a hippie self-help guru, a bra-burning Snow White, and the land of Far Far Away as a medieval Beverly Hills, its streets lined with shops like Ye Olde Foot Locker and Abercrombie and Witch.

What's most depressing is how much *effort* has gone into the whole dreary mess. It's rotten with cynicism but floated on a cloud of Hollywood lucre, and filled with the desperate clutter of a franchise that exists only to keep its studio executives in massages and Maseratis. *Shrek the Third* rounds up a cavalcade of comic voices, wasting everyone from Antonio Banderas to John Cleese on a frantic, pointless plot that involves Shrek (Mike Myers, who still sounds like he's doing Fat Bastard from the Austin Powers movies) trying to pass off the throne of Far Far Away to the wimpy, teenaged Artie Pendragon (Justin Timberlake), while coping with the anxieties of looming fatherhood and fending off an attempted coup d'état by the Rupert Everett–voiced Prince Charming. This story, such as it is, is credited to seven (!) people; there's a soundtrack stuffed, for no good reason, with the Ramones, Led Zeppelin, and Macy Gray; and the whole thing is done in lavish, no-expense-spared animation, with a palette that's almost rich enough to make up for the fact that the human characters look like refugees from a high-end video game, all clean lines and inexpressive faces.

No doubt it will be enormously successful. The billions the *Shrek* films have raked in thus far prove Mencken's famous claim that nobody ever went broke underestimating the American people—but then we knew that already. What they *really* prove is that the best way to exploit American stupidity is to flatter American intelligence, and give moviegoers something that's just clever enough to make them feel smarter than the average schmo, or the average fairy tale. Thus the "Versarchery" store in Far Far Away, or the "Just Say Nay" program at Artie Pendragon's high school, or Snow White's catty remark about Rapunzel's hair extensions: all of them "in" jokes that don't really leave anyone out. Except the kids, of course, who are stuck with the projectile vomiting and the treacly esteem-building, and who, if they're unlucky, may come away convinced that this is all that fairy tales have to offer—noisy, garish, moralizing entertainment that cuts the heart out of wonder. **NR**

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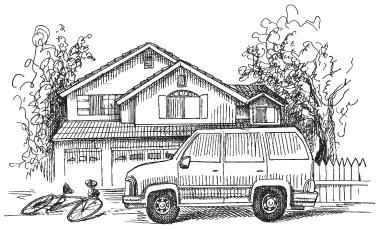
■ THE STRAGGLER ■

The Sea! The Sea!



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

One day some years ago I was arguing with a Viennese friend about poetry. Though a well-educated and cultivated person, my friend claimed not to "get" poetry. How could that be? I protested. Don't we all respond quite naturally to strongly measured and evocative lines? Listen . . . and to make my point, I quoted Tennyson's "Break, break, break, / On thy cold grey stones, O Sea!" "Oh," she scoffed, "you English, and this huge thing you have about the sea!"

Is it really true? En route by cruise ship from Bermuda to New York, I look out of my cabin window at the North Atlantic, trying to summon up some atavistic emotions. The sun is close to setting in a clear sky. My cabin is near the front of the ship (which is to say, the bow) and on the left-hand (which is to say, port) side, so that the sun is heading down to the horizon at my right. Between it and me is an impressive bright road of reflected sunlight on the water, as in some kitschy seascape painting. The water itself is, I would guess (having very little experience of the deep Atlantic), rather calmer than usual, inducing almost no motion at all in the ship.

I stare, I summon up, to no effect. Huge thing? The hugest thing in my consciousness is anticipation of dinner, which my cheerful Hungarian cabin steward—I may develop a Central European theme here—should be bringing any time now.

By English standards I am anyway a hopeless landlubber, having been raised about as far from the sea as it is possible to get in the mother country—about 60 miles. I am told that I was taken on seaside trips as an infant, but my first actual memories are from age eight, when my family rented a "caravan"—a tiny mobile home—on the cliffs above Hunstanton in Norfolk. There I explored the mud flats and rock pools of the Wash, that square bay that terminates the eastern bulge of England, a body of shallow water in which, as every English schoolchild used to know, King John lost his crown jewels. I recall being disappointed by the sea, which I had been told was blue and fierce, but which at Hunstanton was brown and sluggish. So many things turn out like that.

My subsequent relations with the sea were mostly unsatisfactory. I spent a couple of years in the Sea Cadets as a teenager, but geography demanded that most of our seafaring be done on a local reservoir. Only our annual camp featured actual sea, and even then we were housed at HMS St. Vincent, which is not a ship at all, but a land barracks in Portsmouth. The most naval thing about the place was a tremendous mast at one side of the parade ground, with rope ladders we were made to run up and down.

My naval career ended when I failed my oral exam for promotion to Leading Seaman. I can still remember the question that scuttled me. Suppose—asked the examiner, a properly bearded old sea-dog with four gold stripes round his sleeve cuff—suppose I wished to tow a length of timber behind my boat, to season it in the water. What kind of knots would I use to secure it? I did not know the answer (which is of course: a chain of timber hitches), and, unable to face the ignominy of another year stuck at Able Seaman, resigned the service.

Dinner over, I climb up to the open deck of my cruise ship. It is quite dark now, but the ship has lights along the side shining down on the water. They make the foam of our passage look bright, but the sea itself darker by comparison. Depth here is 14,000 feet, I recall from a captain's announcement. Some lines from a different poet, Denise Levertov, come to mind: "the sea is turning its dark pages / turning / its dark pages."

I try to imagine those dark depths, and be scared by them, but it doesn't work. What I actually think about the sea is, it's boring. Readers with a strongly different opinion should make allowance for the fact that this was the last night of a two-week cruise.

Next morning: Now the true depths—I think I will say heights—of my lubberliness are revealed to me.

Sunrise is at 5:32 A.M. We are scheduled to reach pilot station for New York harbor about 5:00. I struggle out of bed and head up to the topmost deck, just in time to see the pilot come aboard. The sky is beginning to lighten. Directly ahead of us, some miles away, I see the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge—the gateway to New York harbor, as well as the star prop in the movie *Saturday Night Fever*.

Now a wonderful, incomparably spectacular show commences. Way over Long Island, the sky turns a fine delicate pinkish-purplish-orange. (The Chinese language has a word for this precise color: *xia*.) The sun rises into a flawless spring sky. In line with an assortment of other ships—this is a very busy port—we head straight for the Narrows. The Manhattan skyline can be seen in profile: the towers of midtown and the financial district, and the dip between—a function, someone once told me, of how close the bedrock is to the island's surface at various points.

The sun is well up, and the observation deck packed with passengers, when we reach the bridge. We steam through into the great harbor beyond. Far up ahead, still tiny in the distance, is Lady Liberty. Here, a mile or so into the harbor, is where the immigrant ships of a hundred years ago would anchor so that their human cargo could be taken off in tenders for processing at Ellis Island. The topic of immigration is in the political air right now. Being an immigrant myself, I am immune to immigration sentimentality. (I think you need to be of at least the third generation before huddled-masses syndrome kicks in.) Still, it is impossible not to indulge in some mild historical reflection here, especially as we steam past Liberty.

The thoughts at the front of my mind, however, are how glad I am to be home, how much I love New York, and how happy I shall be to feel solid ground beneath my feet again. Like the fellow in the song, I'm never seasick but I'm awful sick of sea. My ancestors, I suppose, would be ashamed of me. **NR**

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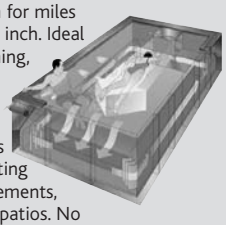

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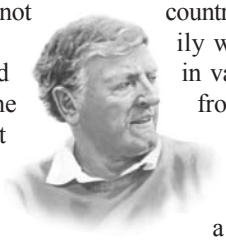
WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Affording the Dream

NEW YORK, MAY 4

THERE is one very undreamy constituent of the American dream, and that is the high cost of college education. The marketplace rule is that competition reduces prices. Well, the marketplace rule is hogwash when it comes to higher education. The explanations for this are multifarious. 1) More Americans, especially in the two decades after the war, decided to attend college, making for great rises in demand. 2) Choice colleges are hotly competed for, giving them a relative immunity to market pressures. 3) Ever since the Fifties, teachers have been demanding a living wage. 4) College perquisites increased; academic offerings for students with exotic interests are understandable, but some college administrators think themselves delinquent if they do not offer a course in jujitsu.



The free marketeer is tempted to address the problem with the kind of fatalistic glibness that makes us so offensive to so many fellow citizens. He will say: So what? There is the demand—a lot of students desiring a lot of things. And there is the supply—4,140 colleges and universities nationwide. Obviously these schools would not survive if the money needed to operate them were not provided. So what we have arrived at is an amalgam of contributors to the students' needs.

Primary, of course, are parents. Those who have it will put up cash. Those who do not will take out another mortgage on their house. Next in line are the students themselves. Many begin their contributions by undertaking school service: waiting on tables, mowing lawns, tutoring students with special problems. Alumni join in by subsidizing scholarships.

Then there are the institutions that make loans. Loans, at the most basic level, are made to the individual by the bank, with some reference to collateral. All that the student can offer is future payments—when he has graduated and begins to accumulate a little surplus.

But quickly there came interventions in the lender-borrower pairing. Colleges themselves, desiring to increase enrollment, made loans, some of them at sharply reduced interest.

Inevitably, the centripetal organ moved in. We got loans, in the Sixties, financed by the federal government, chasing after parity with Soviet astronauts. These loans grew to serve the general purpose of higher education. Some sort of college aid became a part of the welfare state.

The refinements of basic economic factors, engaged in to deal with the problem of high costs, require strenuous improvisations. Colleges that extend scholarships or give out loans are traditionally influenced by the factor of family wealth—and why not? But introduce apparently extraneous factors, and then see what happens. We have had a huge real-estate boom in many parts of the country, so that a middle-income family with a house that has doubled in value might find itself excluded from aid on the grounds that the parents' assets place them at an affluent level. But in the real world, the rise in the "value" of a house is a most awfully impalpable thing. You cannot profitably sell the house in Greenwich, Connecticut, intending to finance college tuition, unless you are prepared to move to South Dakota. Increases in the value of houses in prime real-estate markets do only two things for the owner: increase his property taxes and increase his heirs' estate taxes. So . . . a group of colleges have agreed to promote the protocol that the value of a petitioner's house should be measured by the equity in the house, not the market value, in judging eligibility for financial aid, and that the value should not be set at more than 1.2 times the family's income.

And so on and so on, myriad, resourceful nibblings at the terrible price of higher education—more exactly, of what people expect from higher education. The day will perhaps come when parents and students and bank managers and legislators will brace themselves in common cause. But how? By patronizing only colleges that forswear extraneous costs?

Mr. Hutchins, when he became president of the University of Chicago, declared that there would be no college-football team. A more modest step—and more palatable to the alumni—might be the one suggested by the conservative candidate for the Dartmouth board of trustees: Cut the size of the college administration and devote the resources to teaching.

The Cozy "Fascist"

NEW YORK, MAY 8

SO Mr. Sarkozy plans a number of reforms in France. And his mandate is pretty impressive, 53–47. But nobody knows better than he that France is only by a tortuous use of language described as a working democracy. For decades the labor unions have exercised an effective veto over French policymaking.

In the history of industrial policy in America, we came face to face with the reality that sympathetic strikes and secondary boycotts could decisively affect tests of strength between contenders in economic disputes. The Taft-Hartley Act was passed in 1947 to outlaw such practices. It was denounced by trade union leaders as a Slave Labor Act, a hyperbole that lost its way in the language of contention when, in 1950, the principal patron of the bill was triumphantly reelected to the Senate from Ohio, where the unions had concentrated their heaviest fire against "slave labor."

The French have not yet acted to remedy their own reality, which is the general strike in which all the labor unions—most importantly those involved in transportation—participate with all their resources. If traffic simply ceases—trains to run, airplanes to fly—civil life all but comes to a halt. It is Sarkozy's intention to introduce legislation—his own Taft-Hartley Act—which would limit the powers of unions to intercede thus decisively to protest government action. The difficulties in doing so speak for themselves—in what is known as the circular argument: The transportation unions can protest the prospective reforms by use of their

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ultimate weapon. What then ensues will measure the strength of French self-rule.

The French are a super-sensitive people, and they cannot bear for others to succeed where they failed. The annexation by France of Algeria happened in 1848. A hundred years later, the Algerians launched their crusade for independence. It appeared a lost cause until the insurrection persevered beyond de Gaulle's fortitude in defending France's colony. Exactly the same spirits were loosed in Indochina, where, finally, the French retreated, leaving the mess for the United States to mishandle. Lecturing at Columbia a couple of years ago, Sarkozy told the students, "In France, history is something that counts. Please don't be angry with us because we remember what happened to us. Is there even a single country of the world, at any time of history, that was able to maintain itself in a sustained way in a country that was not its own, uniquely by the force of arms? Never, not a single one, even the Chinese." The international confrontation over Iraq came in the U.N., where France whittled away at pending resolutions, settling finally for Resolution 1441, which permitted noncompliance in the sought-after anti-Saddam alliance, resulting very quickly in France's refusal to contribute to the war effort.

Sarkozy is an outspoken admirer of the U.S. and has said that while he does not judge all U.S. policy to be just, neither will he judge it to be inherently evil, colonialist, and exploitative. On the matter of the Iraq War, he will maintain the neutrality of his predecessor, but he seems prepared to do so without the accompanying cant of the people determined to criticize American policy under any circumstance.

The domestic test for Sarkozy will come early, and it will be crucial. The French have been given, in recent decades, to explosive demonstrations. On Sunday night the mobs protesting Sarkozy's election and his proposed reforms set fire to 730 automobiles and injured 78 policemen. A *New York Times* reporter described the scene: "At one point, the square [the Place de la Bastille] was thick with white tear gas, reflecting the orange glow of a car fire while silhouetted youths heaved paving stones at tight formations of armored riot police officers." On the walls they scrawled their reaction to the election: "Sarkozy Fascist." To understand that, you need to understand that those in favor of permitting the estoppel of all transportation in France understand themselves to be fighting fascism.

Romney's Moral Thought

NEW YORK, MAY 11

THERE is pretty outspoken derision, on the hustings, on the matter of Mitt Romney and his evolved stand on abortion. In Iowa, which Governor Romney recently visited, a county chairman accosted a skeptic. What he said was that Romney's opposition to abortion was the result of a "thoughtful moral process." People on the other side, whether of Romney, or of abortion, are expressing their skepticism.

I recount, as relevant, a personal experience. In 1965, Vatican II released its paper affirming religious liberty and the rights of conscience of dissenting Christian communities. The following year, I wrote a column citing that Vatican paper as relevant to legislation about abortion pending in various states. Whether to approve abortion, I wrote, citing the Vatican document, was a moral question on which the Catholic Church could not dictate to non-Catholics.

I remember the dismay of Brent Bozell, my closest friend from college days and collaborator in the founding of NATIONAL REVIEW, of which I was the editor. What he said was that abortion was, in the understanding of basic Christian thought, a fatal intervention in the life of a human being.

The moral narrative is plain enough, and what ensued in my own case was studied reflection on the point. The immunity of life has to begin at some moment after conception. It is nowhere assumed that the day-old child has less than a full, constitutional claim to protection. Yet if so, what protections are owing to a pre-born infant?

There are heavy books and treatises that argue the question, but after my own mind was made on protecting unborn life, I expressed my views not, I hope, tiresomely but with some frequency as the abortion question arose in the arena of American politics.

What I have found most arresting is the refusal of so many in the pro-choice army to submit the question to "thoughtful moral process," as we have been told Mitt Romney did. One can choose to ignore the moral question, but one cannot easily decline to acknowledge that there is a moral question underlying the dispute.

We need to remind ourselves that deep moral questions have at other times in American history engaged public thought. It is at least strange, but we need to remind ourselves of it, that many years after the founding of the Republic, it simply was not questioned that there existed a class of human beings who were slaves, and that it was a right of an American who bought such a creature at a public auction to direct that slave's life as one would a mule's.

We all know that slavery eventually became a fissiparous question that finally brought on a civil war. But what lingers in the mind is that perfectly good, kind, and intelligent people accepted the institution for years. If Thomas Jefferson could own slaves, where to find someone of higher sensibilities to rule that slave-ownership was a grievous moral offense?

The Democratic party attempted to prohibit thought on the question of abortion when at its convention in 1992 it declined to permit the Democratic governor of Pennsylvania to give a speech—because he opposed abortion, and the managers didn't want someone on stage who disturbed philosophical equanimity by raising the question of the unborn child.

The movement to eliminate thought on abortion has failed. Failed, because there is an assertive human point at issue, which cannot be denied consideration, any more than the question of slavery could forever be denied consideration.

Mitt Romney is hardly entitled to the Republican nomination just because he has confessed his doubts on the subject of abortion. But moral history is likely to bow its head to remark this sign of life of the moral conscience.

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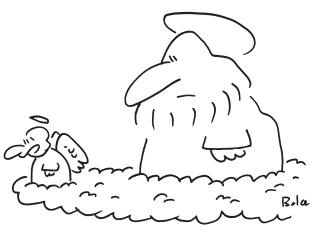

"Free will?—I think they need more structure *than that."*

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happy warrior

MARK STEYN

Outsourcing The Future

It's not true that immigration officials never enforce the laws of the United States. The late Gord Sinclair, the colossus of English-language radio in the province of Quebec, used to have a country place about an hour-and-a-half southeast of Montreal just across the Vermont border, and occasionally he'd invite some of his staff at CJAD down for the weekend. So one Friday afternoon a few years ago, one of Gord's junior reporters pulled up at the Richford crossing and was asked the usual questions: Where do you live? Where are you going? And, upon hearing that the guy was going to stay at his boss's pad, the border guard asked him what he'd be doing when he got there. And he answered affably, "Oh, knowing my boss, he'll probably have me chopping wood and peeling potatoes all weekend."

Whereupon U.S. Immigration refused him entry to the United States on the grounds that he had no work authorization.

After some months of appeals and interventions by Gord and other eminences, the poor fellow's ban on admission to America was reversed. But they pretty much totaled his weekend plans.

Meanwhile, back on the southern border . . .

Faced with a sustained systemic assault on U.S. sovereignty, the federal government simply surrendered—and, in effect, sued for terms. Last year's offer was rejected as being unacceptable to the vast legions of the "undocumented" and so, for example, the requirement to pay three out of five years' back taxes was replaced by a total tax amnesty.

But just so we're all clear what happened: An army of peasants defeated the *soi-disant* hyperpower. America's closest allies—the Australians, say—periodically seek some modest advantage for their citizenry in return for their steadfast support, and generally get nowhere. But a population the size of Australia's simply moved across the border and, despite huge public hostility to the strains imposed on local education and health care, the U.S. government simply shrugged: There's nothing we can do except give in.

This is not an immigration issue. Rather, this is a fascinating template (to put it at its mildest) on how to subvert national sovereignty. When I referred to an "army of peasants," by the way, I wasn't being pejorative, only marveling at the leverage brought to bear by some of the poorest people in the hemisphere. They were aided, of course, by forces inside the perimeter—the business class and the political elites. And this is where the template starts to look more familiar. There has always been human migration: "One day a mysterious colony set out from Spain and landed on the narrow strip of land which they inhabit to this very day," as Dumas writes of the small Catalan village near Marseilles at the beginning of *The Count of Monte Cristo*. But mass immigration as a conscious instrument of the host society's domestic policy is very much a phenomenon of the modern age, and not an especially reassuring one.

Peasant army vanquishes *soi-disant* hyperpower.

Listening to homeland-security secretary Michael Chertoff jeering at the yahoos boorish enough to oppose amnesty, I was reminded of the British and European establishments a generation or two back. In the late Sixties and early Seventies, when the anti-immigration working class of northern England fretted that they would lose their cities to the "Pakis," the sophisticates mocked them as paranoid racists. Racist they may well have been, but they weren't paranoid: In little more than a generation, Oldham and Blackburn and Batley went from mills to mosques. Yorkshire and Lancashire have adopted Mirpuri practice on arranged cousin marriage and can now boast among their native sons the July 7th Tube bombers.

This isn't to say every Hispanic lawn boy is a jihadist in waiting, but to make a more basic point. Those ignorant grunting knuckle-dragging English masses (I'm adopting the Chertovian approach) understood something that the experts either miss or glide smoothly over—that there is something wrong and reductionist in seeing human beings only as economic entities. Fine, we need bus drivers, or auto workers, or seasonal fruit pickers, or whatever it is. But, if the price of a cheap pool of bus drivers is the transformation of Yorkshire into something that would be unrecognizable to any Yorkshireman of the mid–20th century, then the smart set should at least be smart enough to address the larger cultural questions.

On the whole, the Left is better at immigration math than the Right. They know, for example, that the "fast track to citizenship" pitch is bunk. They don't need citizens: Congressional districting is based not on citizens or voters but on (legal) residents, and a gazillion amnesties will be enough to give the demographically weakened Democratic precincts a huge windfall come the next apportionment. The pro-amnesty Right, on the other hand, looks at it purely in economic terms: We need immigrants to come here to do "the jobs Americans won't do." There's no evidence for this—and quite a lot to suggest illegal immigration is forcing Americans out of jobs they *will* do, for example, in the construction industry. It would be truer to say that there are jobs Americans can't do. That's to say, the costs of hiring legal workers in certain industries have become prohibitive, at least for the needs of the people running those industries. Canada and Europe have fallen into a structural dependency on legal immigration. But America has fallen into a structural dependency on illegal immigration, and there's no sign that the government intends to address that, or, indeed, that American business wants them to.

It's not immigration, but something more basic—and, pro- or anti-, none of us knows where it will lead. When you outsource the future, don't be surprised if it doesn't turn out the way you expected. **NR**

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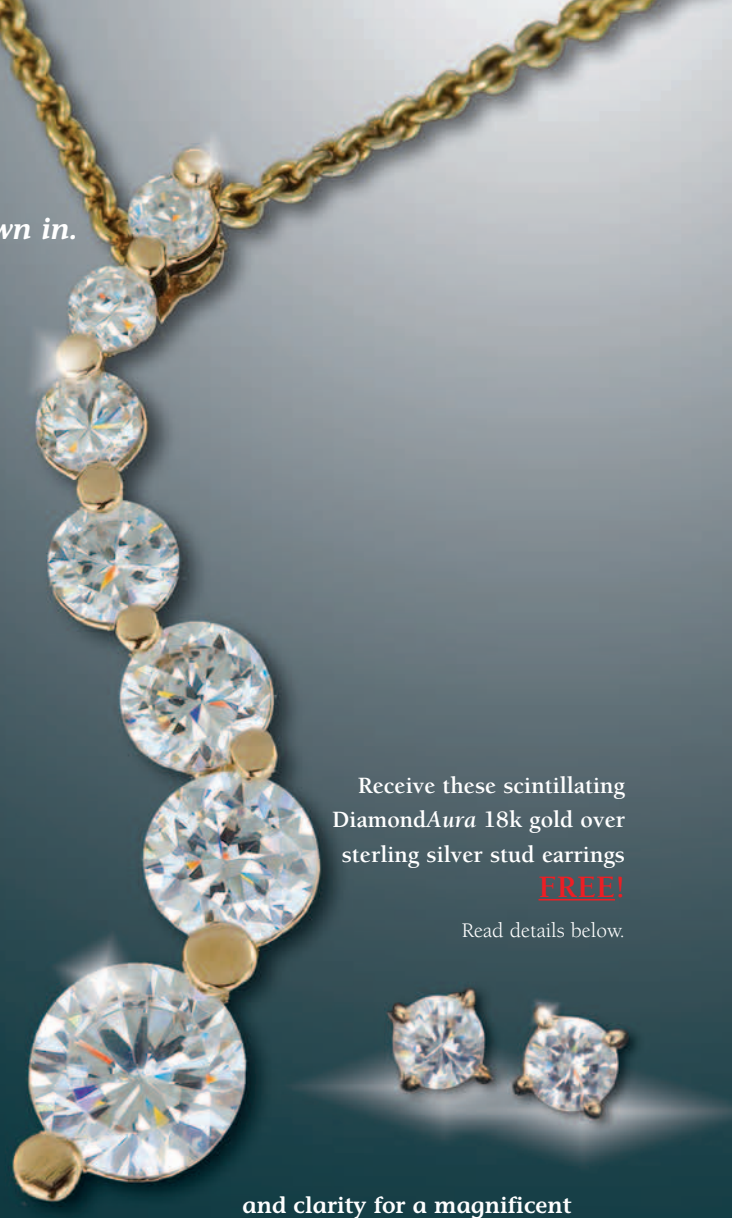

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